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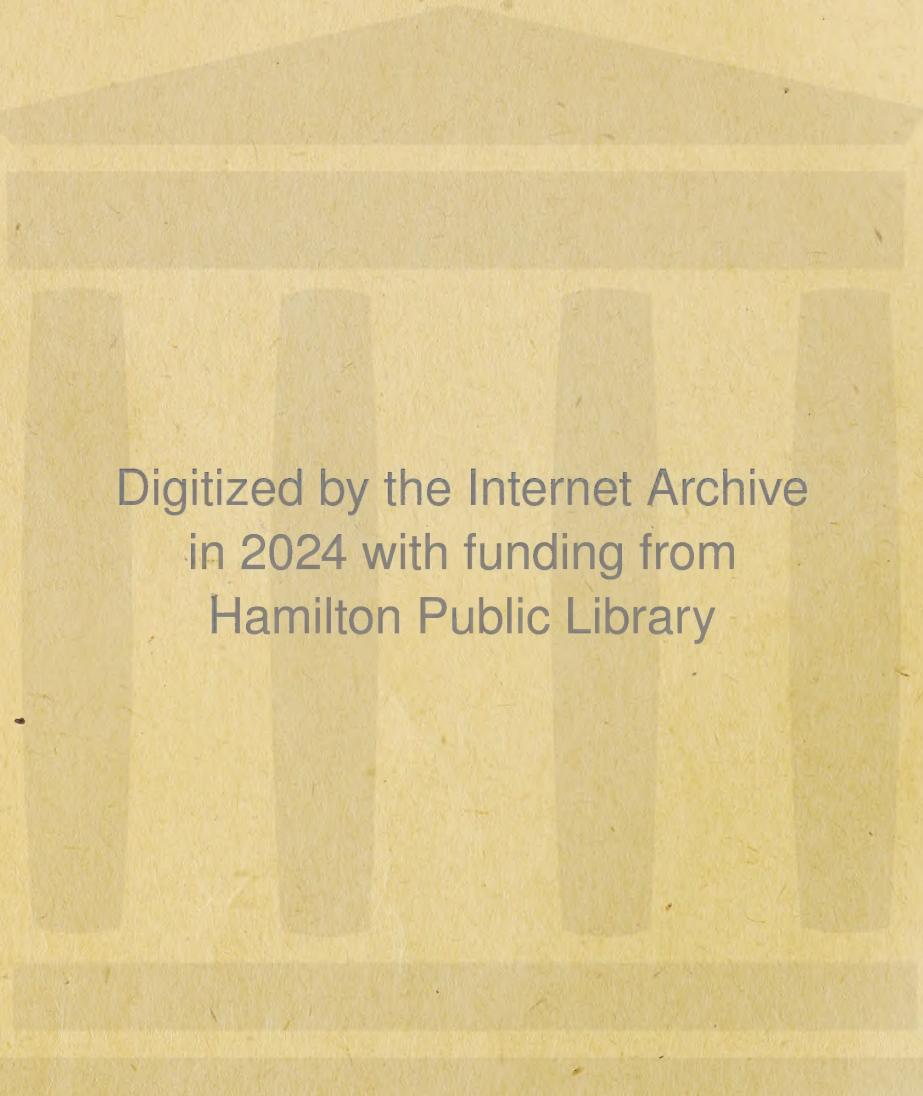
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TO THE RESIDENT LAND OWNERS OF UPPER CANADA.

BY ROBERT FLEMING GOURLAY.

KINGSTON, 1818



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Extracts.

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November 6, 1817.

WE would direct public attention to a publication in the last York (U.C.) Gazette, addressed *To the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada*, by Mr. ROBERT GOURLAY, an English gentleman, who is now on a visit to this Province, with the view of ascertaining its Agricultural advantages, and of collecting materials for a Statistical account of the same, which Mr. G. proposes Publishing on his return to England. Our limits this week will not even admit of an outline of the plan, but we promise the Address in full next week.

—
November 13th.
—

To the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada.

—
Queenston, October, 1817.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM a British Farmer, and have visited this Province to ascertain what advantages it possesses in an Agricultural point of view. After three months residence I am convinced that these are great,—far superior indeed to what the Mother Country has ever held out, either as they concern speculative purchase, or the profits of present occupation.

Under such impressions, it is my purpose as soon as circumstances will permit, to become a settler; and in the mean time, would willingly do what laid in my power to benefit the country of my choice.

When I speak in this sanguine manner of the capabilities of Canada, I take it for granted that certain political restraints to improvement will be speedily removed. Growing necessity, and the opinion of every sensible man with whom I have conversed on the subject, gives assurance of this. My present address, therefore, waves all regard to political arrangements : it has in view, simply to open a correspondence between you and your fellow-subjects at home, where the utmost ignorance prevails with respect to the natural resources of this fine country.

Travellers have published passing remarks,—they have told wonderful stories, and amused the idle of England with descriptions of the beautiful and grand scenery which Nature has here displayed ; but no authentic account has yet been afforded to men of capital—to men of enterprize and skill, of those important facts which are essential to be known, before such men will launch into foreign speculation, or venture with their families, in quest of better fortune, across the Atlantic.

In this state of ignorance, you have hitherto had for settlers chiefly poor men driven from home by despair. These men, ill-informed and lost in the novelties which surround them, make at first but a feeble commencement, and ultimately, form a society, crude, unambitious and weak. In your newspapers I have frequently observed hints towards bettering the condition of these poor settlers, and for ensuring their residence in the Provinces. Such hints evidently spring from benevolent feelings : they are well meant, and may tend to alleviate individual distress, but can produce no important good to the country. Canada is worthy of something better than a mere guidance to it of the blind and the lame : it has attractions to stimulate desire and place its colonization above the aids of necessity.

Hands no doubt are necessary, but, next to good laws, the grand requisite for the improvement of any country, is capital. Could a flow of capital be once directed into this quarter, hands would not be wanting, nor would these hands be so chilled with poverty as to need the patronage of charitable institutions.

At this moment British capital is overflowing : trade is yielding it up : the funds cannot profitably absorb it : land mortgages are gor-

ged ; and it is streaming to waste in the six-per-cent of America. Why should not this stream be diverted into the woods of Canada, where it would find a still higher rate of interest, with the most substantial security ?

Gentlemen ! The moment is most auspicious to your interests, and you should take advantage of it. You should make known the state of this country : you should advertize the excellence of the raw material which Nature has lavishly spread before you : you should inspire confidence, and tempt able adventurers from home. At this time there are thousands of British Farmers, sickened with disappointed hopes, who would readily come to Canada, did they but know the truth : many of these could still command a few thousand pounds to begin with here ; while others less able in means, have yet preserved their character for skill and probity, to entitle them to the confidence of capitalists at home, for whom they could act as agents in adventure. Under the wing of such men the redundant population of Britain would emigrate with cheerfulness, and be planted here with hearts unbroken.

We hear of four or five thousand Settlers arrived from home this season ; and it is talked of as a great accession to the population of the Provinces. It is a mere drop from the bucket. England alone could spare fifty thousand people annually, while she would be refreshed and strengthened by the discharge. In war, England sent abroad annually more than twenty thousand of her youthful sons to be slain, and more than twenty thousand of her daughters shot after them the last hope of honorable love. In these twenty-five years of war the population of England rapidly increased : what is it to do now, when war is at an end, when love and opportunity are no longer to be foiled, and the poor laws have provided sustenance for children independent of the parent's care ?

Under existing circumstances, it is absolutely necessary, even for the domestic comfort of England, that a vent should be immediately opened for her increasing population, and the colonization of Canada, if once begun, upon a liberal footing, would afford this vent.

The present emigration from England affords no relief whatever to the calamity occasioned by the poor laws. Thousands and tens

of thousands of paupers could be spared, who cannot possibly now get off for want of means, but who would be brought over by men of capital, were confidence for adventure here once established.

The extent of calamity already occasioned by the system of the Poor laws, cannot be even imagined by strangers. They may form some idea, however, when I tell them, that last winter I saw in one parish, (Blackwall, within five miles of London,) several hundreds of able bodied men harnessed and yoked 14 together, in carts, hauling gravel for the repair of the highways; each 14 men performing just about as much work as an old horse led by a boy could accomplish. We have heard since that £1,500,000 has been voted to keep the poor at work; and perhaps the most melancholy consideration of the whole is, that there are people who trust to such means as a cure for the evil.

While all this is true: when the money and labor of England is thus wasted: when thousands of our fellow subjects are emigrating into the States of America: when we even hear of them being led off to mix with the boors of Poland, in the cultivation of a country where the nature of the government must counteract the utmost efforts towards improvement,—is it not provoking that all this should go on merely from a reigning ignorance of the superior advantages which Canada has in store, and a thoughtlessness as to the grand policy which might be adopted for the general aggrandizement of the British nation.

Some have thought the exclusion of American citizens a great bar to the speedy settlement of Canada; but a liberal system of colonization from Europe, would render this of small* importance. Before coming to a decided opinion on this important subject, I took much pains to inform myself of facts. A minute enquiry on the spot where Government has endeavored to force a settlement, satisfied me as to the causes of the too notorious failure there. It convinced me that the fault by no means rested with the incapacity of the settlers, but resulted from the system pursued. I have since spent a

* Mr. Horne, the Editor of the Upper Canada Gazette, when he was first setting up the types of this Address, wished me to substitute the word *no* for *small*, which I would not consent to. Mr. Horne, I dare say, will re-collect this; and, I have reasons for keeping it in mind.

month perambulating the Genesee country, for the express purpose of forming a comparison between British and American management. That country lies parallel to this : it possesses no superior advantages : its settlement began ten years later : yet I am ashamed to say, it is already ten years before Canada, in improvement. This has been ascribed to the superior dexterity of the American people, but most erroneously. The art of clearing land is as well understood here as in the States : men direct from Britain are as energetic, and after a little practice, sufficiently expert with the axe, while they are more regular in their habits and more persevering in their plans than the Americans.

No improvement has taken place in the Genesee country, which could not be far exceeded here, under a proper system. It was indeed British capital and enterprise which gave the first grand impetus to the improvement of that country : much of its improvements is still proceeding under British agency ; and one of the most flourishing townships is wholly occupied by men who came with slender means from the Highlands of Scotland. In the Genesee country, the Government pocketed much, but forced nothing, and charity, there, has been left without an object.

GENTLEMEN.—The enquiries and observations which I have recently made on the subject of settlement, assure me that neither in these Provinces nor in the United States, has a proper system been pursued. The mere filling of the world with men, should not be the sole object of political wisdom. This should regard the filling of it with beings of superior intellect and feelings, without which the desert had better remain occupied by the beaver and the bear. That society of a superior kind may be nursed up in Canada, by an enlarged and liberal connexion with the mother country, I am very confident ; and its being realized is the fond hope which induces me to come forward with my present proposal, and which, if these proposals meet with support, will continue the spur of my exertions to complete the work which I have now in view.

Many of you, Gentlemen, have been bred up at home, and well know how superior in many respects, are the arrangements and habits of society there, to what they are on this side the Atlantic. Such never can be hoped for here under the present system of colonization,

which brings out only a part, and that only the weakest part of society—which places poor and destitute individuals in remote situations, with no object before them but grovelling selfishness—no aid—no example—no fear either of God or man. Is it not possible to create such a tide of commerce as would not only bring with it *part* of society, but society complete, with all the strength and order and refinement which it has now attained in Britain, beyond all precedent? Surely government should afford every facility to a commerce which would not only enrich, but eternally bind together Britain and her Provinces, by the most powerful sympathies of manners and taste and affection.

Government never can too much encourage the growth of this colony, by a liberal system of emigration. When we come from home, we are not expatriated: our feelings as British subjects grow more warm with distance, and our greater experience teaches us the more to venerate the principles of our native land—the country wherein the sciences have made the greatest progress, and where alone are cultivated to perfection the arts of social life. At home, we have experienced evils: we know that influences are there, which war against the principles of the constitution and counteract its most benevolent designs. Here, we are free of such influences, we are perfectly contented, and a fine field lies open to us for cultivating the best fruits of civil and religious liberty.

An enlarged and liberal connexion between Canada and Britain, appears to me to promise the happiest results to the cause of civilization. It promises a new æra in the history of our species: it promises the growth of manners with manly spirit, modesty with acquirements, and a love of truth superior to the boasting of despicable vanity.

The late war furnished the strongest proof of the rising spirit of this country, even under every disadvantage; and pity it would be, were so noble a spirit ever again exposed to risk. The late war showed at once the affection which Britain bears to Canada and the desire which Canada has to continue under the wing of Britain.—When a connexion is established between the two countries, worthy of such manifestations all risk will cease. Britain will no longer expend her million, here. This country will not only be equal to

its own defence, but the last hope of invasion will wither before its strength. While Canada remains poor and neglected she can only be a burthen to Britain: when improved and wealthy she will amply repay every debt, and become the powerful friend of the parent state.

What I conceive to be the first requisite for opening a suitable communication with the mother country, is the drawing out and publishing a well authenticated statistical account of Upper Canada. This cannot be effected by a single hand: it must be the work, and have the authority of many. To give it commencement, I submit for your consideration the annexed queries; and could these be replied to, from every township in the Province, the work would be far advanced. These queries have been shewn to many of the most respectable individuals in the province, and the scheme of collecting materials in this way, for a statistical account, has, by every one, been approved. Some, have doubted whether there exists sufficient energy and public spirit in the remote townships to reply to them. I hope there is; and certainly no organized township is destitute of individuals qualified for the task, if *they will but take so much trouble.*

Some gentlemen have met my ideas so cordially as to offer to collect information, not only for their own, but, for other townships. Correct information, however, is not the only requisite: authority is also wanted of that species which will not only carry weight with it to a distance, but remain answerable on the spot for what is advanced. The desirable point therefore, is to obtain replies *separately from each township*, and to have these attested by the signature of as many of the respectable inhabitants as possible. To accomplish this in the speediest and most effectual manner, a meeting might be held in each township, and in the space of an hour or two the business might be perfected.

The Queries have been drawn out as simply as possible, with a view to the practicability of having them answered in this general way. They embrace only such matters as it must be in the power of every intelligent farmer to speak to, and the information to be obtained by them will be sufficient to assure farmers and others at home, who have money to engage in adventure, that adventure here, will not only be rational and safe, but that they themselves may sit down in Canada with comfort and independence,

Although to prevent confusion in the general fulfilment of the scheme, I have confined the range of Queries, it would still be very desirable if intelligent individuals would communicate their sentiments with regard to any measure of improvement which occurs to them, or any remarkable fact or observation they may have made concerning the climate, soil or cultivation of the Province.

Should any correspondent dislike my using his name publicly, he need only give a caution, and it shall be observed.*

If the Queries obtain notice, and sufficient documents are forwarded to me, I shall arrange and publish them in England, whither I am soon to return. Had this task required superior ability, such an offer would be presumption. I think it requires industry alone, and that I shall contribute most willingly.

Whoever thinks well of the scheme and feels a desire to promote it, let him not hesitate or delay: prompt assistance will be every thing; and, as to trouble, let individuals compare their's to mine.

Though I gratuitously make offer of my time, I must be relieved of expense as much as possible, and shall expect all communications to be post paid. No person, I think, who interests himself at all in the matter, will grudge his item in this way. Divided amongst many, such charges will be trifling, but accumulated upon one, they would be serious.

Should the work succeed to my wish, I would propose not only publishing it in the English but German language.—It is well known that the people of that nation are most desirable settlers, and it is a fact that many of them have not the means of communicating to their friends the very superior advantages of this country. One of them who has been in Canada 13 years, lately told me, that “tousands and tousands would come over, did they but know how good a country it is for poor peoples.”

ROBERT GOURLAY.

N. B. *Address all communications for me, to the Post Office, Queenston.*

R. G.

* These two lines were thrown in at the suggestion of the Printer at York; who thought few people would choose to give their names, as authority.—So very different was the issue, that I have received only one communication out of nearly a hundred, with a feigned signature. I mention this to the honor of the people of Upper Canada, while I express my regret for admitting of a supposition that any one would hesitate to withhold his name in support of the information required.

QUERIES.

- 1st. Name, situation and extent of your Township ?
- 2d. Date of the first settlement of your Township, number of people and inhabited houses ?
- 3d. Number of Churches or Meeting Houses ; number of Professional Preachers, and of what Sects ?
- 4th. Number of Medical Practitioners ?
- 5th. Number of Schools, and the Fees per Quarter ?
- 6th. Number of Stores ?
- 7th. Do. Taverns ?
- 8th. Do. Mills, and of what Description, with the rate of Grinding, Sawing, and Carding Wool ?
- 9th. The general character of the Soil and Surface ?
- 10th. The kinds of Timber produced, naming them in Order, as they most abound ?
- 11th. What Minerals, if any, have been discovered or indicated, Coal, Limestone, Iron, Stone, Plaster of Paris, Salt Rock, Salt or other remarkable Springs ?
- 12th. Building Stones, if any, of what Quality, and how much per Toise they can be obtained at the Quarry ?
- 13th. If Bricks have been made, and their cost per Thousand ?
- 14th. If Lime is burned, and the Price per Bushel at the Kiln ?
- 15th. Wages of Blacksmiths, Masons and Carpenters ; and the Rate of their Piece Work respectively ?
- 16th. Wages of common Labourers per Annum—per Winter month, per Summer month, per day in Harvest—also, wages of women Servants per week for Housework, and for Spinning ?
- 17th. Price of mowing Grass for Hay : price of Reaping and Cradling Wheat—saying, in each case, if Board and Lodging is included.
- 18th. Cost of Clearing and Fencing a given Quantity of Wood land, say Five Acres, by Contract.
- 19th. Present price of a good work Horse, 4 years old : also, a good Cow, Ox, Sheep, of the same age.
- 20th. Average quantity of Wool yielded by Sheep ; and what price the Wool now brings per pound ?

21st. Ordinary time of turning out Beasts to Pasture, and of taking them home, into the Yard or Stable?

22d. Ordinary endurance of the Sleighing season; and of commencing Ploughing in Spring?

23d. Ordinary season of Sowing and Reaping Wheat?

24th. Quantity of Wheat required to Sow an Acre, and how many Bushels, per Acre are considered an average Crop.

25th. Quality of Pasture: 1st, as it respects Feeding, and what weight an Ox of 4 years old will gain with a Summer's run;—2d, as it respects Milk, and the quality of Dairy produce; noting the price which Butter and Cheese made in the Township will now fetch?

26th. Ordinary course of Cropping upon New lands, and afterwards when broken up from Grass? stating also, when and for what Crops manure is applied?

27th. If any land is let on Shares; to what extent this is practised, and what the ordinary Terms?

28th. The price of Wild land at the first settlement of the Township, its progressive rise, and present price; also, of land so far Cleared; stating circumstances as to Buildings, proportion Cleared, or peculiarity, if any, of Local situation; referring in every instance to actual sales?

29th. Quantity of Land now for Sale?

30th. State of Public Roads, and if capable of much Improvement at a moderate expence; also, if any Water Conveyance; or if this could be Obtained, Extended or Improved, by means of Canals, Locks, &c. &c.

31st. What, in your opinion, retards the Improvement of your Township in particular, or the Province in general; and what would most contribute to the same?

Niagara, November 8th, 1817.

WE the undersigned Magistrates of the District of Niagara, having observed in the York Gazette of the 30th ult. an Address from Mr. GOURLAY to the Land Owners of Upper Canada, proposing to publish a Statistical account of this Province, do conceive that the same would be highly beneficial, and recommend that Meetings be

immediately held in the several Townships, to consider of, and reply to the Queries therein proposed.

Signed THOMAS CLARK,
ROBERT KERR,
ROBERT GRANT,
JAMES KERBY,
SAMUEL STREET,

THOMAS DICKSON,
ROBERT ADDISON,
THOMAS BUTLER,
JAMES MUIRHEAD,
GEORGE KEEFER.

A communication from Queenston, was received too late for to-day, but shall appear in our next.

November 20, 1817.

THE Communication from Mr. Gourlay, which will be found below, was intended for our last paper, but having been received too late we were compelled to defer it till this week.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

Queenston, Nov. 10, 1817.

SIR,

I AM gratified with the notice you have taken of my Address to the Land Owners of Upper Canada in your last paper, and glad that you are to give it place in your next, as that must greatly contribute to forward the desired effect.

When I presented the Address for publication to the Editor of the Upper Canada Gazette, I little thought that either my sentiments or proposals could offend any one; and, no sooner was it before the public, than I had the satisfaction of hearing the design commended by many of the first characters in York,* who even suggested that

* Here, part of the letter has been omitted.

much of the required information could be obtained for me at the public Offices.

Rendered confident by such support, and finding that printed letters could be sent free of postage to every part of the Province, I ordered 800 copies of the Address and Queries, to be thrown off in a Circular, and dispatched to the Public Officers of every Township, lest the York Newspaper should not fall into their hands. What was my surprise after all this—after devoting not only my time but my money to such a cause; what was my suprise to hear from unquestionable authority, on my passage in the Steam Boat from York to Niagara, that a Member of the Executive Council had declared himself displeased with my sentiments, and had called it presumption in me, a stranger, to come forward as I had done.

Were it matter of private concern, it would be much beneath me to notice the whisperings of any one; but under present circumstances my duty is to speak out, and, once for all, to guard the Public against murmurs which may retard the promotion of the best interests of the Province.

If any one can seriously challenge my opinions or proposals, let him do so through the medium of the Public prints, setting forth, as I have done, his profession and his name. By such means all of us may be better informed than we are, and that good may be obtained which little fault-finding cannot accomplish.

In offering my services to this Province, as Compiler of its Statistics, I offer much labour with small prospect of emolument; and if there is, in York or elsewhere, any one willing to undergo the drudgery, in whom greater confidence can be placed, most gladly will I resign to him the task; which indeed I cannot perform unless *immediately and frankly* assisted in the manner proposed.

That I am a stranger is not in every sense correct. My near connexions were among the first settlers of Upper Canada, and I am proud to say rank also as its greatest benefactors. Indeed where the memory of the Hon. Robert Hamilton is so much revered, it is natural for me to claim that Country as my home.

A singular concurrence brought into the same page of the Upper Canada Gazette, the Regulations of the Strangers Friend Society

and my Address. It is possible that some of my Remarks may have been felt by Members of that Society, as purposely directed against their endeavours ; but so far was this from being the case, that I had committed to paper these very sentiments a month before I knew of such a Society coming into existence, and actually threw in some words at York, to save the feelings of its well-meaning supporters. My only wish was to guard the Public against *relying* in such schemes as conducive to Colonization. Had I entered further into the subject I might have shewn their positive evils, and informed the worthy Inhabitants of Canada that the greatest curse of England, the present system of poor laws, had its origin in *erring benevolence*.

While there is opportunity it may be well to leave nothing in my Address unexplained. When first written it contained the following words : “*The able Resolutions brought forward at the close of your last Session of Parliament.*” It had not entered into my head that the mere expression of one’s opinions could give offence ; but having accidentally read the Address to a friend, before I sailed from Niagara to York,* I was cautioned against the use of these words, and luckily it was so, for on my arrival in York I found the said Resolutions were held in utter abhorrence there, insomuch that they had not even obtained a place in the Gazette. To avoid offence I substituted in place of the above words, “growing necessity,” which answered my end equally well. The *Resolution* which I had particularly in view related to the Taxation of wild Lands ; and till that is brought about every effort for giving full scope to improvement here must be abortive.

* On the 19th day of October, 1817, I went on board the Steam Boat at Niagara, to cross the Lake to York. Our sailing being delayed for a little while, by high wind, I stepped on shore and conversed with the Honorable William Dickson and Mr. M'Donnel, formerly Speaker of Assembly. I took Mr. D. aside, told him that I proposed publishing an Address at York, and read to him the first part of it, when he gave me the caution mentioned in the text. We rejoined Mr. M'D. and conversed further on the subject. I told them I should have printed the Address in the Niagara Spectator, but for having seen a very improper article inserted in that paper : on which Mr. D. said, that this must have happened from inadvertancy, as the Editor was a very good man. I am thus particular for several reasons, but chiefly wish it to be understood that it was by perfect accident that I went to York with any guard against the supercilious notions of its inhabitants. I had avoided particular consultation with my friends merely because I wished them in no way to be responsible either for my acts or opinions in this business.

The *Resolution* which regarded the admission of People from America into Canada, was not only *able*, but in my opinion essential to the dignity of the Legislature of the Province. The *veto* issued against the admission of such people, I am clearly convinced was subversive of a Constitutional Act, which no one Branch of Government had a right to infringe. It was a Question for the grave and deliberate determination of the Three Estates of Parliament. It was not incumbent on me to speak of this. The evil done to the Province by the exercise of this *veto*, I considered irretrievable, and wished rather to avoid allusion to a fearful subject—the encroachment of arbitrary power. Under these circumstances, it seemed best to say, in my Address, that the exclusion of American citizens “was “*of small consequence*,” but this must depend entirely on the *establishing a liberal system of colonization*; and unless such is speedily resorted to, our hopes here of Prosperity and Independence must be at an end.

That any doubt with regard to me may not for a moment delay the most efficient and peaceable mode of informing the People and Government at home of the state of Canada, through the medium of a well authenticated Statistical Account, I now beg that all communications on the subject may be addressed, *post paid*, to me* at this place; and the sense of the public will appear by answers to the following additional Query, “*Can you recommend any person peculiarly qualified for arranging and publishing the Statistics of Upper Canada, or are you willing to repose confidence in your humble servant,*

“ ROBERT GOURLAY ?”



November 27, 1817.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

WE the Subscribers, Magistrates of the District of Gore, having observed in the Newspapers, an Address to the Resident Land-Own-

* The words “*to me*,” were not in the manuscript, but were substituted for others erased, inadvertently by my friends.

ers of Upper Canada, signed ROBERT GOURLAY, proposing to collect materials for publishing a Statistical account of this Province, are of opinion, that the same would be of great public benefit, and recommend Meetings to be held in every Township, as soon as possible, to consider of the same, and return answers to the Queries put, attested by the Signature of the Chairmen of such Meetings.

<i>Signed</i> RICHARD BEASLEY,	RICHARD HATT,
GEORGE HAMILTON,	JAMES CROOKS,
HENRY HAGLE,	LEVI LEWIS,
HUGH WILSON,	JOHN WILSON,
WILLIAM HARE,	ROBERT NELLES.

December 11, 1817.

AT a meeting of the Magistrates and other inhabitants of the District of London, held at Vittoria the 2d of December, 1817, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of calling general meetings on the subject of an Address which appeared in the Upper Canada Gazette of the 30th of October last, containing proposals for publishing a Statistical Account of the Province, Joseph Ryerson, Esq. in the Chair, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

1st. Resolved—That it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that every facility ought to be afforded to the author of that address, to enable him to complete the proposed work, which, in the opinion of this meeting, will tend greatly to the improvement of this Province in general.

2d. Resolved—That as individuals, we will give all the support in our power to promote so desirable an object ; and as a first step, we strongly recommend to the inhabitants of the different Townships within this District, to call meetings with as little delay as possible, fixing a particular day for the purpose of furnishing replies to the several Queries in that address.

3d. Resolved—That as dispatch is very desirable, these meetings should be held as speedily as is consistent with correct information.

4th. *Resolved*—That these resolutions be signed by the Chairman and Magistrates present, and be published in the Upper Canada Gazette, the Niagara Spectator, and the Kingston Gazette.

Signed, JOS. RYERSON, Chairman,
J. BACKHOUSE, J. P.
GEORGE C. SALMON, J. P.
J. MITCHELL, J. P.
THOMAS BOWLBY, J. P.



January 8, 1817.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

SIR,

You inserted in your paper of the 20th November last, a letter with my signature, and as that letter was not given to the public as it was written by me, you will, I trust, afford room in your columns for explanation.

The letter was begun on the point of my setting off from Queenston on a far journey from which I have only now returned, and it was not finished till I reached my second stage: from whence I enclosed it to a friend, bidding him, as it was a hasty production, use his discretion as to making it public. It will be remembered that the cause of my writing this letter, was a report that an Executive Councillor had been finding fault with my proceedings. Conscious how little I deserved blame, and fully convinced of the vast importance to the Province of my proposals being carried into effect, I desired, in my letter, that communications should be addressed to a "well known and worthy Magistrate" of this District, (mentioning his name) that he and his brother Magistrates might dispose of such communications, the best for the public good. The worthy Magistrate, from false delicacy, declining to have his name appear, it, with its epithets, were struck out by my friend, and the words "to me" inserted. Should any one take the trouble of looking back to the letter, as printed, he will see what a strange difference this inter-

change of words produced. Instead of making me appear, as in fact, I was, indifferent to all personal consideration, it thrust me forward as doubly presuming.

Another part of my letter was also, from false delicacy, greatly altered to my prejudice. I wrote that "I had the satisfaction of hearing the design commended by many of the first characters in York, among whom were his Honor the Administrator, and the Hon. Chief Justice," but these words, here marked in Italics, were erased by my friend, little considering how very important they were, not only in gaining public confidence to the cause, but as tending at once to justify me, and screen those respectable personages from suspicion and censure.

Before my address appeared in the Upper Canada Gazette it was submitted to Colonel Smith, who gave it his fullest approbation ; and immediately after its publication, being told that Chief Justice Powel also approved of it, and desired to see me, I waited on him and had a most cordial conversation on the subject ; and, it was owing to such respectable countenance, that I ventured on the extraordinary step of sending *circulars* over the Province.

One fault there was in my letter : I did not give the name of the unfriendly Councillor ; thereby affording room for unfair surmises ; and this, upon reflection, gave me pain. The individual alluded to was the Rev. Dr. Strachan. If he has been injured he has a right to call upon me for my authority, and in that case it shall be given him ; for I neither wish to hear nor to keep secrets regarding public concerns.

The lapse of time, and the public prints, have too truly manifested that there are men who will run in the face of common sense and discretion, merely to gratify their envy and their spleen. The intelligent public never could expect me to reply to the wretched stuff which has been written in opposition to my scheme. Notwithstanding every awkward appearance and the machinations both of open and covert enemies, its success has far surpassed my utmost expectation. Upwards of forty Reports of Townships, most of them the result of regularly constituted public meetings, have already reached me, besides many letters from individuals ; and I do not hesitate

to say, that in no country was so much valuable information ever so speedily got together by such simple means.

As I am on the eve of leaving this place, I shall make arrangements to have communications forwarded for me at New-York, where I shall remain two or three weeks on my way to England ; and thus friends to the cause who have been tardy, will have the latest chance of contributing their aid. The materials already collected will, when published at home, arrest great attention ; but my anxious wish is, to give every person a fair opportunity of speaking out his sentiments, and that all parts of the Province may be impartially represented.

The following Townships above Lake Ontario are still unreported. In the District of Niagara there are, *Niagara, Louth, Grimsby, Gainsborough, Humberstone, Willoughby, Pelham and Bertie.* In the District of Gore, *Nichol, Woolwich, Dumfries, Glanford, Binbrook, Caistor and Clinton.* In the District of London, *Woodhouse, Walpole, Rainham, Houghton, Norwich, Dereham, Blandford and London.* In the Western District, *Romney, Tilbury, Rochester, Mersey, Gosfield, Maidstone, Colchester, Malden, and the Huron Reserve.*

Some of these may have few or no inhabitants to speak for them, in which cases, I shall be glad if any individual, having the means, will take the trouble to send me a short account of their situation, soil and surface, together with any other fact respecting them which may occur as worthy of notice.

On my part, before taking leave of these Districts, there is a duty to perform. It is to return my warmest thanks to the inhabitants for their hospitality and kindness, which rendered my last journey, of a thousand miles, during the worst season of the year, altogether delightful. Should I be spared to retrace my steps, some twenty years hence, what a change may I behold, *if good laws are ably administered !!*

Yours, &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

January 29, 1818.

To THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

SIR,

As I believe the British Act of Parliament, 30th, Geo. III. Chap. 27, has never been published in this Province, I herewith send you a copy, and trust you will find room for its insertion in your next News-paper, as matter of *utmost importance* to be considered by the inhabitants of Upper Canada at the present moment.— Had I seen this act prior to writing the letter which appeared in your paper of the 20th November last, I might have corrected my first opinion of the Resolutions brought forward towards the end of last Session of Parliament. Instead of characterizing them as “able Resolutions,” I might have said, that, in some cases, doubting was weakness, and ignorance a fault. Of the spirit of the Act I was well informed ; but conceived that some ambiguity had arisen from its wording, which called for the language of courtesy to an over-officious Executive.

I am, &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

Queenston, January 26, 1818.

An Act for encouraging new Settlers in His Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America.

“WHEREAS it is expedient that encouragement should be given to persons that are disposed to come and settle in certain of His Majesty's Colonies and plantations in America and the West Indies; be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the first day of August 1790, if any person or persons, being a subject or subjects of the Territories or Countries belonging to the United States of America, shall come from thence, together with his, her, or their family or families, to any of the Bahama, Bermuda or Summers Islands, or to any part

“of the Province of Quebec or of Nova-Scotia, or any of the Territories belonging to His Majesty in North-America for the purpose of residing and settling there, it shall be lawful for any such person or persons, having first obtained a licence for that purpose from the Governor, or in his absence the Lieutenant Governor of the said Islands, Colonies, or Provinces, respectively, to import into the same, in British ships, owned by His Majesty’s subjects, and navigated according to law, any negroes, household furniture, utensils of husbandry or clothing, free of duty ; provided always, that such household furniture, utensils of husbandry, and clothing shall not in the whole exceed the value of 50l, for every white person that shall belong to such family, and the value of 40s. for every Negro brought by such white person ; and if any dispute shall arise as to the value of such household furniture, utensils of husbandry or clothing, the same shall be heard and determined by the arbitration of three British merchants at the Port where the same shall be imported, one of which British Merchants to be appointed by the Governor, or in his absence by the Lieutenant Governor of such Island or Province, one by the collector of Customs at such port, and one by the person, so coming with his family.

“II. And be it further enacted, that all sales or bargains for the sale of any Negro, household furniture, utensils of husbandry or clothing, so imported, which shall be made within twelve calendar months after the importation of the same, (except in cases of bankruptcy or death of the owners thereof,) shall be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

“III. And be it further enacted, that every white person so coming to reside, if above the age of fourteen years, shall, and he is hereby required, immediately after his arrival, to take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, before the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Chief magistrate of the place where such person shall arrive, and at the same time swear that it is his intention to reside and settle in such Island or Province ; for which Oaths, such Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Chief Magistrate, shall receive the same fee, and no more, as is payable by law on administering the Oath of Allegiance in cases where the same is now by law required.”

February 12, 1818.

To the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada.

Queenston, February 1818.

GENTLEMEN,

I did myself the honor of addressing you through the medium of the Upper Canada Gazette, of the 30th October last, and my address has been since widely circulated over the Province by various other channels. Its object was to gain the most authentic intelligence concerning this country for the information of our fellow subjects and government at home. The object was important: the means employed were simple and fair: the effect to be produced was palpable.

To lull the spirit of party, and quiet every breath which might stir against a measure so chaste and efficient, I forebore all allusion to political concerns. Conscious of being moved by the purest intentions, and desiring alike the welfare of this province and its parent state, I dispatched a copy of my address, as soon as published, to be presented to Lord Bathurst, and trusted, that by calm and dispassionate statement at home, the supreme government, would be best persuaded to amend the errors of original institution. In these I conceive lay the chief obstacles to the prosperity of the Province: in Canada I thought there was but one interest: in simplicity I said "here we are free of influences."

Since then three months have passed away. In this time I have travelled more than a thousand miles over the Province: I have conversed with hundreds of the most respectable people: I have gravely and deliberately considered what I have heard and seen: I have changed my mind; and, most unwillingly, must change my course of proceeding. This country, I am now convinced, cannot be saved from ruin, by temporizing measures nor by the efforts and reasoning of any individual: if it is to be saved, reason and fact must speedily be urged before the Throne of our Sovereign by the united voice of a

loyal and determined people :—if it is to be saved your Parliament now assembled, must be held up to its duty by the strength and spirit of its constituents : a new leaf must be turned over in public conduct ; and the people of Canada must assume a character, without which all Parliaments naturally dwindle into contempt, and become the mere tools, if not the sport of executive power.

It is but recently that I searched the public journals and otherwise made enquiry as to what was going on before my arrival in the Province. Your public men, I find, were most lovingly attached to your late Governor. He was praised for his “mild administration” when he had done nothing ; and, in the midst of mischief, he was fondled, he was fattened. While yet he must have been laughing in his sleeve at the subservience of the last Parliament, he found the present one willing to stifle the remembrance of subserviency ; and while it should have been moving impeachment against himself, wrangling about the expulsion of one of its own members, for having inadvertently published the truth. Sure of his friends in favor and in office, he could even dash off his last card with eclat ; and dismissing Parliament in a style unheard of since the days of Cromwell, he could carry home as much flattery as secure for himself a snug retirement in Downing-street.

Though I thus speak let it not be thought that I have any personal pique to gratify. I never saw your Governor : I never conversed with any one of your Parliamentary disputants : I have drawn my picture, not from a partial but full view of the subject : I wish not to flatter, and certainly do not fear. Of all things let it not be imagined that I would stir up any one to anger or to contempt of constituted authorities. It is my opinion that in all countries, the goodness of Government keeps pace with the virtuous spirit of the people ; and in no country has this spirit less to contend with than here.— Since matters have been allowed to go so far wrong, I would have the people of Canada, take home to themselves every particle of blame for the past, and remember what has happened only as a guard for the future. Wherever I have enquired, Governor Gore’s private character has been spoken of with respect, and so it is with many private characters at York ; but is it not also true that the conduct of public affairs has become a standing jest ? nay, if allowed, I will

prove the fact before the bar of your Parliament, that good faith has been trifled with, and that the rights of property have been violated, by the very functionaries appointed to render them sacred and secure.

In my humble opinion, Gentlemen, there ought to be an immediate Parliamentary enquiry into the state of this Province, and a commission appointed to proceed to England with the result of such enquiry. This measure should not be left to the mere motion of Parliament. It should be pressed by petitions from every quarter,—from individuals and public bodies : it should appear, if possible, to be the unanimous desire of the whole population. This would give confidence to Parliament to proceed without bias, hesitation or dread :—it would ensure success to the cause.

Before we heard of Governor Gore's favorable reception at home, there was sufficient call for the declaration of public opinion and for some energetic move, through the whole Province, to rescue it from the thraldom of folly and infatuation. This intelligence, only now received, leaves not a doubt as to the necessity of the case. It shows that the gross manner in which the Canadian Parliament was dismissed has been misrepresented in England ; and that ministers labor under the most fatal mistakes as to the laws and policy which have made and sustained this country.

Gentlemen, the British Act of Parliament for encouraging the settlement of the Colonies was made over to you with your constitution ; and *your* Parliament alone, in conjunction with the British sovereign, had a right to alter it. This Act was framed in wisdom, and under its auspices the desert wilds of Canada began to unfold their treasures for the use of civilized man. If theoretical opinions could have been entertained as to the policy and soundness of this act before the late war, that trying crisis should have dismissed them for ever. Is it not a fact that three fourths of the population here emigrated from the United States since the revolution ? Is it not a fact that one half of these people came invited by proclamation, and with this act, fresh issued from the British Parliament, as their security ? Is it not a fact, that many of these men stood foremost in battle, defending British rights ? Is it not a fact, recorded even in the speech of your late Governor, that this Province owed its safety during the first year of invasion entirely to the loyalty of its own

militia?*—How in the name of God, could all this have happened had the law been impolitic,—had people from the United States been unworthy of its adoption? That there were unprincipled villains in Canada was indeed proved by the war: but who were they and from whence did they come? Has it been shewn that the majority were Americans? Is it not true that the basest of all were Europeans born?

The swaggering declaration of a war minister, founded on the dogmas of antiquated lawyers has said, that we cannot change our allegiance; but this great question, for the comfort of individual right, was long ago set at rest by British Acts of Parliament, in the face of which, Declarations and dogmas are but empty sounds. The good sense of our ancestors established this principle, and in language the most perspicuous declared its object and its end: witness the following extract from the 13th of George the second, chapter 7th, a statute, “*for naturalizing such foreign protestants and others as are settled and shall settle in any of His Majesty's colonies in America.*” The words of this statute run thus, “Whereas the increase of people “is the means of advancing the wealth and strength of any nation and “country; and whereas many foreigners and strangers, from the lenity “of our government, the purity of our religion, the benefit of our laws, “the advantages of our trade, and the security of our property, might “be induced to come and settle in some of His Majesty's Colonies in “America, if they were made partakers of the advantages and pri-“vileges which the natural born subjects of this realm do enjoy,” therefore, it was enacted, “that from and after the first of June, “1740, all persons born out of the legiance of his Majesty who shall “have resided or who shall hereafter reside, for the space of seven years “or more, in any of the Colonies in America, and shall not have been “absent from thence above two months at any one time, and shall take “the usual oaths of fidelity, or if Quakers shall subscribe the declara-“tion of fidelity, or if Jews, with the omission of some Christian ex-

* When writing the above, I had not a copy of Governor Gore's Speech to Parliament, in February 1816, to refer to, for minute correctness. The following is an extract, “The gallant defence of this Colony, by its own Militia, supported during the early period of the War, by a very small portion of His Majesty's regular forces, has acquired to it a high distinction for Loyalty and Bravery. The obstinate contention with succeeding Armies of Invaders, and their ultimate discomfiture, has not failed to attract the notice of the world; and gives to this Province, an importance in public opinion, which it becomes us to maintain.”

"pressions ; and shall also subscribe the profession of their Christian belief (Jews excepted) as directed by a statute of William and Mary," &c. &c. "shall be a sufficient proof of his or her being thereby become a natural born subject of Great Britain to all intents and purposes."

Gentlemen, when I read this law my blood warms within me with the feeling that I am of that nation which promulgated it,—that nation which did not even allow such a monstrous supposition to appear in its civil code, as that men could not change their allegiance,—that nation whose parliament could boast of inducing foreigners to give up their native allegiance, and accept of ours from *the lenity of our government, the purity of our religion, the benefit of our laws, the advantages of our trade, and the security of our property.* These, Gentlemen, were glorious boasts, such as none but the British nation could maintain : these were liberal and worthy rewards, to draw people to our colonies, and thereby *to increase the wealth and strength of our country.* Such modes of seduction,—such boasts and rewards are not only innocent but useful in the most exalted sense : they tempt individuals to fly from beneath the rod of oppression, and thereby diminish the power of despots,—they excite nations to emulate each other in virtue and in peace. Compared to these what are the boasts of war—what the rewards of conquest? They do not seduce but force men from their allegiance : they instigate and keep alive every furious passion : they weaken and impoverish, not our country only, but, our kind.

The grand purpose of Government is the protection of our persons and property ; in return for which we owe it our allegiance, even unsworn. When we remove, in a becoming manner, from beneath this protection, our allegiance is reasonably and fairly at an end. Before I, myself, sailed for Canada, I was importuned by friends to emigrate along with them to the United States : we never thought of its being a crime to pass from beneath the protection of the British, to that of the American government ; and my chief reason for preferring to come to Canada, was, that I had here a wider circle of connections. I knew that my person and property would be protected anywhere in America ; and as to the form of Government, I gave it no thought, perfectly agreeing with the Poet, who says,

" For forms of government let fools contest,
" What e'er is best administered is best."

Wherever I abide I shall bear true allegiance to government : to whatever country I belong, I shall endeavour, by every honest means, to advance its prosperity : where my treasure is, there also shall be my heart.

Although British statutes and the practice upon them, have for generations, recognized and guaranteed the right of individuals to change their allegiance from one government to another, they have not yet sufficiently defined the terms under which the change may be effected. Tacitly, however, all good men admit that this change is not to be trifled with ; and a valuable moral lessson was given on this head, in the treatment of those people who deserted from this Province during the war. It was determined, and most properly, that persons deserting their property in such circumstances should lose it ; and further, that if they aided or assisted the enemy they should be hanged. This lesson was valuable to the Province in the event of other wars. After such a lesson, weak or wicked men, would think more seriously of desertion ; and the free admission of foreigners was rendered much more safe. Canada, indeed, had in many respects gained by the war. Before that event, every one must have doubted her ability to hold out against hostile attack. The issue gave confidence on this important point ; and it is notorious that many of the most upright citizens of America were on the wing to settle here, as soon as peace was declared. They had found that even pure Democracy was not immaculate : they had been oppressed with taxation to sustain the anibition of conquest : they had seen this unrighteous ambition foiled in all its movements, as if by the hand of an offended Deity : they had seen liberty giving birth to a thousand angry passions and sending forth under her mask the Demon of licentiousness : they had been terrified with the mobs of Buffalo and Baltimore. When all this was fresh in recollection :— when such people had become not only willing but anxious to be made partakers of the advantages and privileges which the natural born subjects of this realm do enjoy, then, forsooth, was the time for your Executive to quash the liberal spirit of existing law, to erect an odious barrier between kindred nations, and bring contempt and dis'honor on the British name.

Gentlemen, I should not dwell so long on this revolting subject did it concern only the business of the present day,—did it concern only the value of your property which would have been double at this moment but for the narrow policy which has been pursued,—did it concern only the dignity of your Parliament which was turned a-drift merely because it ventured to open the statute book, and resolve between right and wrong. The present time is on the wing : you and your property will soon be parted ; and it may be said that a parliament, which permitted the laws to be set at nought for two long years, could suffer little diminution in dignity. The subject before us demands attention for reasons infinitely more important than these. It demands attention for the sake of principles which govern and direct all things for good, now and for ever ;—principles which have long been the pride and support of the British constitution,—which have nursed up all that is yet valuable in civilized life.

Our constitution, which has been refining for ages, and the spirit of which is purity, has been often lauded, for its effects are irresistably impressive, but it has been seldom understood. It is that beautiful contrivance by which the people, when perfectly virtuous, shall become all powerful ; but which reins back their freedom in proportion to their vice or imbecility.

The British Constitution sets the law above all men ; and that the law may be reverenced and implicitly obeyed, it has anointed a King to be ~~the~~ grand Executor. That we may look to this personage with unceasing faith and respect, he is clothed in fiction, and it is acknowledged by the law itself that he can do no wrong. In courtesy and fiction, every thing belongs to him : in fact little or nothing ; and though he can do no wrong, his ministers, through whom every act must proceed, are open to our censure and amenable to justice. Nay, in proportion to the intensity of sentiment which directs our love and regard for the King, should be our watchfulness over those delegated by him to discharge the sacred trust of the laws, and preserve them inviolate.

At home this watchfulness has ever given employment to the most able and virtuous of our statesmen ; and, but for their unceasing efforts the ambition of those in authority, would convert their

sacred trust to purposes of selfishness,—they would set aside the laws to gratify their own whims and caprice. Here we have had an example : we have been unwatchful, and experience the consequences. Blame not, therefore, the constitution, neither withdraw from honoring the King : but brace yourselves up to the performance of your individual public duties, and all may yet go well. After what has happened it is not for the people of Canada to be vindictive : it is not for them who have been culpably negligent or pusillanimous to be inveterate accusers. They should drop impeachment against their late Governor ; but while they seek not blood as an atonement for the mischief he has done, they may yet very properly extort his tears.

In thus addressing you, Gentlemen, I can have no little selfish object in view—no passion to gratify but that of seeing the land you inherit prosperous and happy. From the day that I first set foot in Upper Canada, now seven months ago, my mind has been devoted to the contemplation of its resources, and the benefits which might accrue to the whole British nation were these called forth by a liberal system of management. The more I have known, the higher have I estimated these, both in a moral and political light ; but the more I become acquainted with the conduct of public affairs, the more am I afraid that all will be thrown away unless an immediate and determined stand is made against little policy and reigning abuse.

I have not descended to the exposure of piccadilloes which you all know to be innumerable, and base in the extreme : I have struck at great leading principles and the conduct of your leading man. The mischief he has done is irretrievable ; but if his acts receive a due mark of reprobation from the mass of the people of this Province, it will greatly re-establish confidence : it will make future Governors more circumspect ; and shake “the insolence of Office” to its lowest grade.

In all past times Provinces have been the sport of arbitrary power. Want of public spirit in the people, and a desire to tyranize, which is greatest in little men, have jointly contributed to this effect. It is an evil however by no means unconquerable, and it will be worthy of a British Colony to be the first in surmounting it.

This Province, indeed, can no longer be trifled with: it must prosper or fall. You resisted invasion for three years: you staked your lives: you sunk your fortunes: you exposed your wives and children to every privation; and for good cause you did so. You are here as free, if you will, as any people upon earth: you have the power of taxation in your own hands, while Britain, the most generous of nations, bears many of your burdens, and has shed her best blood in your defence. After all this are you to look back upon the struggle of war as mere foolishness? having repelled an enemy with the sword, are you to suffer a more deadly foe to waste and destroy you? are you to pine in ignominious sloth and desert a cause which now only wants reason to maintain it. Gentlemen, the prosperity of this Province needs nothing more than your peaceable exertions to procure respect for the laws and to introduce a new system of management.

I have been told that were Canada united to the States, your property would rise to twice its present value, and it is true; but it is also true that if a liberal connection with Britain was established and a system of business introduced into public offices here, instead of a system of paltry patronage, and ruinous favoritism, the same property would rise to ten times its present worth.

The people at home know nothing of this Province. The Prince Regent never would insult its inhabitants by the offer of confiscated estates to make good the claims of sufferers by war, did he know how little these will afford, and were he apprized of the truth that under good management the public property of the Province might not only defray every claim, but yield to England a handsome revenue.

Gentlemen, the attention you paid to my first address was most gratifying to me, but chiefly to be valued as an assurance that you are alive to your common interests. The Reports of Townships which I have received, far exceed my first expectations, both in point of number and respectability. They exhibit at once, the physical and moral worth of Canada: they form a mass of information well calculated to assist Parliamentary enquiry; and if you press such a measure by petitions, most willingly will I make these Reports over to your assembly. I never wished to have them for

the mere purpose of book-making. I saw before me a great political end, honorable to myself, profitable to you, and glorious to the nation. This excited me to action, and most happy I was to find you willing to assist. Let us not cease to act: send in your petitions for enquiry: press for a commission to go home with the result; and publish this with your Township Reports in England.—This will break the spell which is sinking the Province to poverty and disgrace: it will produce consequences every way splendid.

The Governor in chief tells the Parliament of Lower Canada, that “*should emigration continue, they might consider of selecting a few good farmers and labourers,*” and “*by locating them judiciously,*” introduce *improved* husbandry. Our worthy President tells your Parliament to consider of paying “*the fees of location*” to emigrants. I have scarcely patience to read such stuff, and shorten it for you as much as possible. It could not be written by the honorable characters whose duty it was to read it. It must be the drivelling production of some half starved clerk in London, that knows nothing of this country,—who neither feels nor cares for it.

Gentlemen, this is the age of commerce, and I advise you to transact your own business. I advise you to correspond with your friends at home. I advise you to sweep your house, and in that case, it shall be furnished in stile from England.

I know hundreds of able farmers who would immediately come out here, were all as it should be: *men who would disdain being selected*,—who would come with money in their hands, and please themselves as to *location*:—men who would bring the poor under their wing, and keep them employed till they could not only pay *fees* but purchase cultivated farms. I know some of the best and wealthiest farmers of England who have gone, within the last year, to the United States, on speculation. I know that you might draw every one of them here, if you would but clear the house of vermin and filth. It is quite natural for us to keep up our connexion with home, but we cannot prefer a land of lice to a land of liberty.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

N. B. As many of the inhabitants of Upper Canada may have never seen the Bill of Rights, the great modern charter of British

freedom, it may not be improper to inform them, that this secures to the subject the right of petitioning the legislature at all times; and that it is the uniform practice at home, on extraordinary occasions, to express public opinion by the exercise of this grand constitutional privilege.

Upon the present occasion the annexed *form* may suit the Inhabitants of this country, although it would be most desirable to see every man or body of men using expressions suitable to his or their peculiar feeling. Whoever wishes well to the Province should not for a moment delay despatching to York such a Petition, as the session of Parliament may soon be over. Members of Parliament are in duty bound to present every Petition sent to their care, which is expressed in becoming language.

To the Hon. the Commons of Upper Canada in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of
SHEWETH,

That God has given to the people of Upper Canada, for an inheritance, one of the fairest portions of the globe.

That Upper Canada is subject to the mildest monarch upon earth, and forms part of that nation, which, for wisdom and power has outshewn every other.

That nevertheless this Province, so happily circumstanced, is in a state of waste and decay.

That there must be some great cause or causes which produce effects so unnatural.

Your Petitioner, (or petitioners,) therefore most earnestly entreats your honorable assembly to make serious enquiry into the same, and take effectual steps towards promoting the prosperity of the Province.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

February 19, 1818.

To His Honor SAMUEL SMITH, ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT OF UPPER CANADA.

Niagara, February 17th, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

IT was my intention to have been in York at this time, but my journey has been accidentally delayed, for a week. At York, I not only mean to gratify myself with attending the sittings of Assembly, to note the modes of procedure ; but, as a British subject and a proprietor of land in Upper Canada, to bring under consideration, by the exercise of my constitutional right of petitioning, certain matters of vital import, as well to the honor of the Crown, as to the welfare of its subjects.

During my leisure, in the mean time, it has occurred, that it may be of some use, to lay before the public, a correspondence which I have had with yourself, and other official characters ; and, to make some remarks on the same.

In the course of my travels through this Province, with opportunities of knowing the sentiments of the people, beyond what any other individual ever before possessed, I was sorry to find, not in one place, but in every place, that dissatisfaction, as to the conduct of public business at York, was either declared openly, or expressed by language of ridicule and contempt. My own experience is very far from equaling, in point of *scrutious delay*, that of many others. Many have had their fortunes at stake : I have only had my feelings tortured, and my time trifled with.

I shall submit the correspondence to the public, in due order ; and ask them to study it well, before they proceed to the perusal of my elucidations and remarks.

Correspondence, &c.

No. 1.

To JOHN SMALL, Esq. CLERK OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

De Forrest's Hotel, York, 30th October, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

SINCE I last saw you, I have had a conversation with His Honor the Administrator, concerning my getting a grant of land.— He told me that it was first necessary that I should actually be arrived in the Province, with the intention of remaining. I replied, that, my sole object in coming at this time, was to ascertain, by enquiries made on the spot, whether it would be judicious to settle here; and that before I could decide on this point, it was important to know what quantity of land I could obtain from Government; upon which His Honor suggested, that were the matter laid before him, in Council, I might have a written assurance, that as soon as I returned from England, took the oaths, petitioned, and paid the fees, *a certain number of acres, now to be named*, should be granted me, in the ordinary way. This would suit exactly, as I have no wish for land unless in the event of my really settling here.

May I therefore request of you to produce this letter, at the next meeting of Council, and write to me, at Queenston, if such arrangement is approved, and what quantity of land I may depend upon having granted me.

I am &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

No. 2.

To JOHN SMALL, Esq. SECRETARY OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

York, November 3d, 1817.

DEAR SIR—Since writing you on the 30th ult. I have had a second conversation with His Honor, the Administrator, and, after consideration, he thinks it best for me to lay a Petition before next meeting of Council, respecting the assurance of land. I therefore

inclose one, and shall be happy to hear from you the result. When the Petition is presented, you may at same time produce my former letter.

Yours truly,

ROBERT GOURLAY.

To His Honor SAMUEL SMITH, ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT OF UPPER CANADA,—IN COUNCIL.

The humble Petition of Robert Gourlay

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioner is a native of Fifeshire, North Britain; and now occupies a farm of 700 acres of land in Wiltshire.

That, your Petitioner, having many friends in Upper Canada, was induced to cross the Atlantic and make enquiry, whether he could advantageously settle among them.

That, your Petitioner, after several months residence here, has found the country capable of great improvement; and, with sufficient encouragement from Government, has resolved to become a settler.

That, your Petitioner would be satisfied on this head, with a letter, from the secretary of your honorable Council, stating the quantity of land which your Petitioner may depend on having granted him, should he emigrate to this country,—come forward in the usual way,—take the Oaths, and pay the fees.

Your Petitioner, therefore, entreats to have such a letter addressed to him *at Queenston*.

And your Petitioner will ever pray.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

No. 3.

To JOHN SMALL, Esq. SECRETARY TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, YORK.

Saltfleet, Nov. 18, 1817.

DEAR SIR—My brother, who will deliver this, has determined on remaining a settler in Canada, and thinks of petitioning for land.

You will therefore be so good as administer to him the oaths, at this time, and say when is your next meeting of Council, that we may have a Petition ready to present.

I shall thank you also to inform me if my Petition has been laid before the Council, and what was its fate. His Honor, the Administrator, was to consult with the Council, as to my being furnished with a copy of a Report on the state of the Province sent home, a few years ago, by Mr. Ridout. Perhaps you can say what was determined as to that, and should my brother not meet with Colonel Smith himself, procure and send it me, if the determination was favourable.

Excuse so much trouble, and believe me your's, &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

No. 4.

To LIEUT. COLONEL CAMERON, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR,
YORK.

Saltfleet, Nov. 18, 1817.

DEAR SIR—If your leisure has admitted of your drawing out the list of people, who deserted their homes in Canada, during the war, which you were so good as promise me, I shall thank you to give it for me, to the bearer, my brother. It is an important matter to know, to what nation these people belong; and, I suppose, you can also distinguish which of them returned to the Province, were tried, condemned, or acquitted. If any thing has occurred to you, generally, as to my Statistical enquiries, since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I shall be much obliged by your mentioning it.

I am, &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

No. 5.

To HIS HONOR SAMUEL SMITH, ADMINISTRATOR, &c. &c. &c.

Saltfleet, Nov. 19, 1817.

DEAR SIR—My brother, the bearer, is going to York to take the Oaths, preparatory to presenting a Petition to the Council for

land, having decided on remaining in the country. If the Council agreed to let me have Mr. Ridout's Report of the Province, may I trouble you to give him an *order* for it while he is at York.

After flattering myself, that the address which I published regarding the Statistical account of the Province, had every one's good will, I was much chagrined to find, that some people found fault with it. I have, in consequence, directed communications on that head to be forwarded to Mr. Thomas Dickson, Queenston, that no personal dislike to me may impede an undertaking so very necessary for the public weal.

I am, with due respect, yours &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

No. 6.

To HIS HONOR SAMUEL SMITH, ADMINISTRATOR, &c. &c. &c.
YORK.

Burford, Nov. 27, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry to trouble you once more, as to my business here; but the tardy way in which I get thro' the country, will, I find, so consume my time, that I shall be unable, I am afraid, to get to York before I set off for England; and am anxious to have a communication directed to me, at Queenston, respecting the Petition I left with Mr. Small for presentation to the Council. May I therefore request this, as soon as the matter is determined; and, if I am to be allowed to have the perusal of Mr. Ridout's Report of the Province, it would be very obliging if you would order it to be sent to me at same time.

I have the honor to be, yours &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

Wrote a Memorandum the above date, to Mr. Jarvis of York, requesting to know if he could furnish me with a copy of Governor Simcoe's Proclamation circulated in the United States—and also asking him to wait on Col. Cameron and enquire, for me, after the list of deserters during the war.

No. 7.

To MR. GOURLAY, CARE OF THOS. DICKSON, ESQ. QUEENSTON.

(Private)

York, December 15, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure to receive your letter a few days ago, relative to your Petition. There not being a full Council, I thought it would be best to let it lay over until there was. Mr. Baby having lately arrived I shall take the opportunity of laying it before the first Council that sits on land matters. Believe me Dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL SMITH.

(Signed)

No. 8.

To ROBERT GOURLAY, ESQ. QUEENSTON.

15th December, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

Immediately on the receipt of your Memorandum, enclosed by Mr. G. Hamilton, I applied to Mr. Cameron for the *promised* list of deserters, and obtained a *promise* of having it as soon as the existing hurry in the office should be over.

I cannot find that a proclamation of the nature you allude to was ever registered in the Secretary's Office. I enquired also of Mr. Cameron concerning it, who was as much at a loss as myself.— Should, however, I be able to procure it for you, I will not fail to send it.

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

SAM'L P. JARVIS.

No. 9.

To HIS HONOR SAMUEL SMITH, ADMINISTRATOR, &c. &c. &c.

YORK.

Sandwich, December 20, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

The zealous manner in which the magistrates and other inhabitants of a very extensive tract of country, through which I have

ately travelled, have taken up my proposals of publishing the Statistics of Upper Canada, has given me the strongest hope, that the business may be brought to a respectable bearing; and, I am encouraged to ask of you, if I could obtain a correct *Map* of the Province from Mr. Chewitt, at York, together with copies of proclamations or other papers, which have been published, from the time since the first organization of the present Government of this Province; and which could be furnished me from the Secretary's Office.

Could I have your assurance of obtaining these, I should take York on my way to England; and it will be obliging if you will direct a reply to be addressed to me, at Queenston, in course of post.

I have the honor to be, with due respect,

Yours, &c.
ROBERT GOURLAY.

No. 10.

To JOHN SMALL, Esq. CLERK OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
YORK.

Queenston, 9th January, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote you nearly two months ago, by my brother, requesting to know if my Petition had been presented to the Council, and what, in that case, was its fate. I received no answer, but attributed this to some negligence on my brother's part. May I now request of you, two lines per the bearer, Mr. Street, saying what has been done, as I am anxious to know this before I leave Queenston for England. You will also have the goodness to inform me if the Council has admitted of my seeing Mr. Ridout's Report of the Province.

I enclose a Petition for my brother which I shall thank you to present to the Council, first opportunity. Should this occur, while Mr. Street is in York, he will pay any fees required: if not, he will leave an order for doing so.

I am your's, &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

No. 11.

To ROBERT GOURLAY, Esq.

Executive Council Office, York, 6th January, 1818.

SIR,

I am commanded by His Honor, the Administrator, to inform you; that your memorial received the 4th of November last, was read in Council on the 12th of that month, and again this day.— And that when you arrive in this Province, with design to establish yourself in it, as a settler, a Location will be made in proportion to the opinion then formed of your means to become a useful settler.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

(Signed)

JOHN SMALL.

No. 12.

To JOHN SMALL, Esq. SECRETARY TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, YORK,

Queenston, January 21st 1818.

SIR,

Your letter of the 6th Instant reached me on the 17th. You say “*that when I arrive in this Province, with design to establish myself in it, as a Settler, a location will be made in proportion to the opinion then formed of my means to become a useful settler.*”

If you will take the trouble to re-peruse my letters of the 30th October and 3d November last, together with my Petition, you will perceive that the above reply, to say the least of it, is not satisfactory. It gives me to understand, however, that there are certain rules which guide His Honor the Administrator, in Council, in the disposal of Crown Lands; and with an explanation of these rules I may yet return to England able to form calculations there, as to the propriety of emigrating to Canada.

The location is to be made “*in proportion to the opinion then formed of my means.*” This language makes the rule appear vague and

arbitrary. At no time is it easy to set bounds to opinion; and opinion, "then" may be very different from an opinion, now. Throwing out five words, a more definite rule will be expressed, "*in proportion to my means:*" but even this requires a little explanation. At first sight I only thought of *money* being the means alluded to; and that a certain proportion of land would be granted, for each hundred or thousand pounds I should prove myself to be possessed of; but a friend has suggested that the word *means* may regard the number of my children, or, the number and strength of my servants and cattle.

You will, I trust, lose no time in shewing this letter to Colonel Smith; and when he considers that I have already waited long, and am now detained here, solely that I may obtain explanation as to this business, I think he may deem it of such importance as to require a special meeting of the Council. It is important, not only to me individually, but to thousands of people in Britain, who may be influenced by my communications on the subject.

As soon as the matter is resolved you will have the goodness to write to me at Queenston.

I am &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

Elucidation and Remarks.

It will be observed, that in the above correspondence, there is no personal reflection or uncivil language, and, that the requests are perfectly reasonable.

The objects are to obtain land,—to obtain the perusal of a Report on the state of the Province,—to obtain a list of Deserters,—to obtain a Map of the Province, and copies of papers which have been published.

The first concerns private interest, the prime object for leaving my dear family and travelling so far from home: the others grew out of circumstances, and had in view chiefly the public good.

Before I petitioned for land, I had written Sir John Sherbrooke, and offered to contract for the settlement of part of Canada, with British subjects, at much less expense than it had hitherto cost Government; but I was told, in reply, that my proposal would not answer.* As to a grant of land, my friends advised me not to petition here, but to apply at home for an *order*. Two Gentlemen, however, who had accompanied me into Canada from England, one an officer of the navy, another a clergyman, had petitioned, and, without, delay obtained land: the first, 1200 acres, the second, 600

***To HIS EXCELLENCE, SIR JOHN SHERBROOKE, &c. &c. &c. QUEBEC.**

Queenston, Upper-Canada, September 14, 1817.

SIR,

I am a farmer from England, and have visited Canada to ascertain, how far it would be profitable to cultivate the land here.

On my first arrival, I went to the new settlement of Perth, on the Rideau, to make enquiries there, and had much attention shewn me by Capt. Fowler. He intimated that I might have land granted me at Perth, but in no greater quantity than one hundred acres, together. As this would not suit my views, having been accustomed to extensive operations, I then gave up thoughts of the matter, but it has since occurred, that as government is particularly desirous of peopling that quarter, and much is expended in the accomplishment, a contract might be formed which might at once suit me, and forward the wishes of government. Capt. Fowler informed me, that the settlement at Perth lay entirely under the direction of the military department, which has induced me, directly, to address myself to you. The question shortly is; would government furnish land to any extent, in proportion to the clearance made, buildings erected, and number of people settled, during a given time, allowing the farms to be regulated as to size, and the buildings to be placed, as the contractor should incline?

You will excuse, I trust, the liberty now taken, and oblige me much by directing a Reply to the Post Office, Queenston. If favourable, I should be happy to communicate more fully on the subject.

I have the honor to be,

Your's, respectfully,

ROBERT GOURLAY.

To MR. ROBERT GOURLAY, QUEENSTON, UPPER CANADA.

Quebec, Sept. 29, 1817.

SIR,

In answer to your letter of the 14th inst. addressed to the Commander of the Forces, I have received His Excellency's directions to acquaint you, that it does not appear to him that the mode proposed by you of settling and clearing land on the Rideau, by contract, would be desirable. Land is granted at that settlement to emigrants from Britain in proportion of one hundred acres to each man, and this quantity will be increased according to the means and the industry of the settler, from time to time, and which will be ascertained by an inspection of the progress made on the first grant.

I, am, Sir,

Your most obedt. servt.

(Signed)

CHRISTO. MYERS,
Col. D. Qr. M. Gen.

acres ; and it appeared foolish in me, coming as a farmer, to whom land was more directly an object, to loose any opportunity of doing for myself ; especially as my success might encourage other farmers to migrate here.

Being at York, therefore, and introduced to your Honor, I took the steps recorded in Nos. 1 & 2. Your Honor, as well as Chief Justice Powell, approved of my address to the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada, in so much, that, I had reason to expect to have access to public offices for papers to assist me. The day after this address was published in York, I saw and had a very pleasant interview with Mr. Ridout, the Surveyor General. He agreed with me in thinking there was great room for improvement in the Province, but said that nothing was listened to at home :—that some years ago he himself had written out a Report of the Province, suggesting improvements, and sent it home, but it was never looked at ; and, in a most liberal manner, he offered to shew me this, if you would give me an *order*. This conversation I communicated to your Honor, who seemed most willing to give the *order*, but said you would first consult the Council, and immediately made a memorandum with your pencil for doing so.

As to the list of Deserters, it was asked by me in conversation with Colonel Cameron ; and he did not seem only *willing* to oblige me with it, but *anxious* that I should have it to publish, for, said he, “ I wish very much you would expose the damned rascals.”—Now, my object had no view whatever to personal exposure : it was simply to ascertain a most important fact as to the exclusion of Americans from Upper Canada, viz : whether a greater proportion of them had deserted during the war, than people from other parts of the world.

With regard to the Map of the Province, I had also, at this early period, thought of it ; and had gone, with a friend, to Mr. Chewett, to speak with him on the subject, but unluckily he was from home.

My journey to the west was to have commenced from York ; but, the arrival of my brother from Scotland changed my plan, and made me return to this place, and thence proceed by the Head of the Lake. At York, I had been told by Mr. Small, that no grant

of land could be made out to any person, without his being personally present during the sitting of Council ; but, on my way to the Head of the Lake, I learned from my friend the Clergyman above-mentioned, that this was not the case, for after he had taken the oaths, he had got his grant without any personal appearance, and was now, by the agency of a friend, in the course of having it located. This information suggested to me the propriety of sending my brother to take the oaths at York, while he was yet unsettled in business, and had time to spare ; and, his going there, was also of consequence to me, in order to hurry matters, as I was soon to set off for England, and had actually written to my family that I would sail about Christmas. At this time too I pushed on the Statistical enquiry more keenly, as the Magistrates of Niagara had volunteered their support, and, I had resigned to them the charge in consequence of the fault-finding of one of your Councillors.

As I prosecuted my journey westward, I was delighted with the zeal which appeared, in every quarter, towards what I had proposed, and in several places I found, as I passed along, respectable meetings gathered together, and actually at work on the business. Seeing things in such a train, I could not resist an inclination to do my utmost for people so willing to help themselves. I ventured to the very extremities of the Western District, and wrote to Queenston, to have intelligence dispatched to my friends at home, that I should not sail so soon as I had before resolved. One thing I expected to ensure by this delay, was, that, when I returned to Queenston, answers to my Petition and other requests, would be lying for me.—In this, I was not only disappointed, but, from the miserable way in which the posts are conducted in Canada, found that my despatch, to relieve the anxieties of my family from the change in my plans, was not arrived five minutes before myself ; and, that it was now nearly two months, owing to one delay and another, since I had been able to communicate with home.

I bring nothing in here without a witness ; and on the score of anxiety, occasioned by accidents and ill regulated posts, I annex below, an extract out of a letter received three days ago from my wife ; and that this *bane* may not be without its *antidote*, I place by the side of it, another extract, from the same letter, written a week afterwards, upon the receipt of several of my letters together.

Up to this hour, I have no answer to my petition,—no answer to my requests, for Mr. Ridout's Report,—Colonel Cameron's list of Deserters,—Mr. Chewitt's Plan ; nor the published papers of the Province. One decisive answer, only, have I received—a verbal one, concerning my Brother's Petition. Mr. Street, who carried No. 10, to York, brought back word, that the Council sat while he was there,—that my letter was delivered in time to Mr. Small ; and, that one of the Clerks told him, that *my Brother should have no other answer to his Petition than what I had received to mine.*

Now, my Dear Sir, you see I have been very circumstantial ; but, the record is one designed to grace the Statistics of Upper Canada ; and, before I leave the country, I challenge all concerned to find in it any thing incorrect. One thing, only, I have forgotten in its proper place. When my brother returned from carrying my letters to York, he brought not a single line in reply to any of them ; but, he told me that you informed him, you could hold a Council at any time, and that I had done wrong in writing my Petition, *on half a sheet of paper*, a misdemeanor, which however flagrant, seems to have been got over by the 6th January, 1818.

To give full scope to reflection on all this, would be wasting much paper, and exhausting a fund of speculation most fitting the ingenuous, at idle hours. For my own part, I cannot even guess as to what has given offence, or, upon what principle of good breeding, Gentlemen should refuse civil answers to civil questions. Refusals would have done very well, but *evasion* is always despicable.

In the speech read from the Throne, it is said, "His Majesty's Government having countenanced a migration from the United Kingdom, to the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, it is expected that great benefit will result to this Colony, from the accession of an industrious and loyal population, and I recommend to your consideration, how far it may be expedient to assist the emigrants, by providing the means to defray the expense of the location and grant of land bestowed upon them, by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in his Majesty's name."

I have migrated "from the United Kingdom :" has His Majesty's Provincial Government "*countenanced*" me ? I have proposed a scheme

for introducing “*an industrious and loyal population,*” and, “*that great benefits will result to this Colony*” from it, is a hope attested by the signatures of hundreds of respectable people: has His Majesty’s Provincial Government “*countenanced*” me? Neither I nor the people to be brought by my scheme, would require to be provided out of the taxation of the Province, “*with means to defray the expense of the location and grant of land :*” far less would we throw ourselves before the Stranger’s Friend Society, or the Compassionate Society, to swell the vain glory of little men, whose charity sounds a trumpet before it: but look, above, and see how I am treated;—look below, and see the *anxieties* that are created at home by *delays*; and then think, that I am still waiting for an *honest* answer to my humble Petition. O fy! shame upon it, and fy! sure, you have altogether lost yourselves in some horrid stygian shade, where the souls of you have been sucked out by the thirsty vampire:—or, does the Council labour under a night-mare? Has it devoured too much land, and gone to sleep while the crude mass is yet undigested? How is it, that, loving its friends, it shrinks from their embrace; and, hating its enemies, rushes to their snare? How is it, that it has duties to perform, and cannot perform them?

Think not, my Dear Sir, that, for any consideration, I would wound your feelings as a private Gentleman. Every body says you are a good man, and what every body says must be true. Behind my back you have spoken well of me; and surely I ought not, for slight matters, expose you to pain. I address you in your public capacity, and my most rigid duty calls for my reprehension of practices derogatory to the dignity you represent, and ruinous to every substantial object for which such dignity is set up. I cannot think you wrote the speech which was delivered: I cannot think it was written by any one who cares or feels for Canada. At all events, it must have been penned without thought, and certainly could not be meant as an insult to the Province.

It reached me as I had nearly finished my last address to the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada. It instantly chilled my blood: it checked the flow of my spirits: it altered my style of expression, and sunk me from the lofty to the low. I am ashamed of such style: I am ashamed of resorting to vermin for a comparison; but nature has made nothing in vain; and the filthy things we ab-

for have been called into existence, to give us suitable notions of the conduct of public affairs at little York,—dull, dirty and disgusting.

Awake my Dear Sir ! Awaken all your Councillors ! tell my friend, the fault-finding Honorable and Reverend Doctor, that if he will do justice to his higher duties, I will lecture for him on "NATURAL PHILOSOPHY" and get the *school house painted*.* I was a favourite student in this very branch at St. Andrews University, and afterwards studied at Edinburgh, under the profound Mr. Robinson. This is more than twenty years ago ; but with a little brushing up and a due assortment of *pigs and whistles*, I could soon shew off as a respectable mountebank. I will even do more than this for the SUBSCRIBER. I will teach political œconomy at York, which has been my favourite pursuit for many years. By this, I doubt not, that I could make out profits, not only to get the *Church painted outside*,† but cleared of cobwebs *within* : perhaps I might fit it with a steeple and a bell, and make it look decent beside the *palace* of its pastor.

Colonel Smith ! let us be serious.—You are at present at the head of this Provincial Government. All your interests and affections rest in Upper Canada. Do justice to your country and honour to yourself, while God has given opportunity. Put down every little consideration : calm every personal animosity : extinguish party rancour : unite all the members of the legislature ; and proceed to business. In two or three weeks order may be brought out of confusion, and several acts passed, of utmost consequence to the peace and prosperity of this delightful land. It can be taking no unfair advantage of the Supreme Government. The constitution of this Pro-

(*Extracted from the *Upper Canada Gazette* of February 5, 1818.)

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THIS Subscriber intends to deliver a course of Popular Lectures on *Natural Philosophy*, to commence on Tuesday the 17th inst. at 7 o'clock P. M. should a number of Auditors come forward sufficient to form a class.

Tickets of admission for the Course (price Two Guineas) may be had of *William Allan, Esq. Dr. Horne*, or at the *School House*. The surplus, if any, after defraying the current expences, to be laid out in Painting the District School.

JOHN STRACHAN.

York, 3d Feb. 1818.

† The week after this was printed in the Niagara Spectator, an advertisement appeared in the York newspaper, for "plans and estimates for repairing and enlarging the Church," to "raise a Belfry on the west end," and to "paint the whole building on the outside." — HAURA !

vince provides a *veto* to the Royal authority against all your acts : but, if a commission went home to obtain a hearing and give explanation, nothing reasonable would be refused.

The most weighty measure regards a general taxation of wild lands. Heretofore the Assembly has injured this cause, by stiling their Bill the "*Absentee Bill*." The Bill had altogether a different view from what these words import in England ; and the title of your *act*, for I hope you will advance it beyond the rank of a Bill, should be changed. It will require nothing but calm explanation to render this Act popular in England : it will require no such delay as that of two years, proposed in the former Bill. The people of England, who own land here, will press its instant operation, for they will see, at once, the rise which it will effect in the value of their property.

The next urgent consideration is to correct the serious mistake as to paying the claims of sufferers in war, out of the forfeited estates. You know these will yield but a trifle, after deducting charges ; but this is not all. The holding of such lands by individuals, as property, would breed most unpleasant heart-burnings now, and at a future period, perhaps broils of the bitterest kind. The giving away of the forfeited estates of Catholics in Ireland, to Protestants, although many generations have passed since, keeps open many an evil eye, at the present hour. In Scotland, confiscated estates were much better managed. They were put under the charge of Trustees, and the Rents were applied, annually, to public works and the improvement of arts. From time to time, some of the estates were restored to the descendants of the ancient holders ; and, in every way, admirable effects arose out of a policy so judicious and liberal.

There is no want of land in Canada, on which money could be raised *immediately* to pay every claim that is due : even the Indian Reserves, *fairly* purchased and put under proper management, would go far towards this. The value of property depends altogether on management ; and, hitherto there has been *no* management in Canada.

One great object more I shall notice, the improvement of the St. Lawrence navigation. Why has this grand object been dropt out of the SPEECH this year, after having been puffed off in that of Governor Gore ? Its accomplishment would be nothing to the British nation. In a single week the means could be raised for it at

Lloyd's, were matters managed as they might be. Capital is much a thing of idea, and rests on confidence. The British funds are nothing but ideal property, held up by confidence in the future proceeds of skill and industry. It is now a hundred years since my countryman Law, created an immense ideal capital in Paris, merely upon a fanciful scheme of finding gold on the banks of the Mississippi. To raise it by means of well directed industry on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and round the shores of our Lakes, is no fanciful project: it may be calculated on with nicety, and accomplished with ease.

I am, Dear Sir,

With due respect, Your's, &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

EXTRACT 1st.

"Where are you, my dear Gourlay? my heart has failed me at last, and I dread the worst that can befall me. I look upon my children, as if they were already fatherless—and pity myself as the most forlorn of widows. They tell me of lost letters—and letters detained—and of husbands who have been years without writing, "and yet come home safe and kind at last; but nothing of all this seems to apply to my case;—for I am sure you will write, as long as you are alive, and think me so—and so often, that it is not at all likely that all my letters can be lost or detained. What do I write for then? Partly because I can find no other employment in the least interesting, and partly, I suppose, because I still do hope, "in spite of all my heaviness." Nov. 16th, 1817.

EXTRACT 2d.

"The people in the Parish wish very much for you back again, "and a party of them were telling John, that they should set the bells a ringing, if they had you but home; not for what they would get, for they did not think you would pay them for that, but for "real joy that you were amongst them again."*

*The publication of these extracts cost me an effort; but their aptness to the business of the moment was mandatory; and, nothing ever evinced to me greater callousness to correct or fine feeling, than remarks I have heared on the subject and some intelligence which reached me from York. The first Extract would have wrung the hearts of the poor trifling wretches there, who have been sporting with their own duty and my serious concerns, if they had hearts within them.

The above I have extracted, at Mr. Gourlay's desire, out of a letter addressed to him from England, given to him out of this Post-Office, the 13th inst.

(Signed)

THOS. MCCORMICK.

Queenston, Feb'y. 16th, 1818.

FOR THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

To MR. GOURLAY,

SIR,

IT was with sentiments of surprise as well as regret, that I saw your second Address to the inhabitants of this Province. With surprise, as it professes sentiments so widely different from those you first expressed; and with regret, as it has destroyed the fair prospects thereby offered. Had you persevered in your first intention, this Province might indeed have regarded you as a friend and a patron, and the benefits likely to have resulted from your plan, were manifest and great. It was expected to exhibit the advantages of this country, in a light which has never yet been thrown upon them, to a wealthy class of people, who might thereby have been induced to emigrate from the United Kingdom, and who, by increasing our population, and expending their capitals amongst us, would have greatly added to the prosperity and consequence of the Colony, and secured property and independence to themselves. In your last Address, the abuses you affect to have discovered in our government are such, that certainly no man would risk his person and property under it; but perhaps a longer residence and more careful examination may induce you again to change your opinion. From my limited knowledge of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, which nevertheless is of much longer standing than your's, I am convinced, that no people under any government, have fewer grievances to complain of, and it is a strong argument in support of my opinion, that no symptoms of discontent have ever appeared amongst them, except when agitated by persons, who like yourself, have pointed out the means of redressing injuries unfelt, and I should hope, visionary.

Your opinion is by no means flattering to the well informed and respectable part of community, since, if it be just, they must either have long submitted tamely to injuries and insults which no government has a right to offer, nor any people of spirit a temper to bear, and least of all, the most indulged of an indulgent and mild constitution; or your abilities must be supposed transcendent indeed, to enable you to have discovered, in so short a time, wrongs and abuses to which they have been so long blind. But I am sure, they still have at least wisdom and prudence enough to enable them carefully to examine those stated injuries, and perfectly to ascertain their existence, their nature and extent, before they trouble the House of Assembly, or government of the mother country, with petitions and complaints. The principal, or rather only grievance you appear to dwell on, is the non-admittance of settlers from the United States. This can be felt but partially, and by a part of the community who had no accession to their wealth, I mean the great landholders, the mass of the people being in general so attached to the farms their own industry and labour have raised out of the wilderness, that they could not now, by American gold, be induced to part with them. That such a measure would add little to the moral improvement and loyalty of the Province, and worse than little to its safety, is a fact no discontented man will deny. On the first signal of admission, thousands would swarm in on speculation, and in the event of future invasion, I appeal to your own candour to say, whether that loyalty which has once preserved this country, would be found to have gained strength by the acquisition of so many republicans, naturally attached to a foreign power—a small share of patriotism must he possess, who would for private advantage incur such a risque.

Your doctrine of the right of changing allegiance, I can by no means subscribe to—and I think it highly dangerous to the uninformed, who may be misled by it, and it has been certainly unequivocally declared by the British government, as to the laws of nations, as contrary to the laws of nations, which declaration has been acted on in the late war with America, by a number of men being sent to England for trial, who were found in arms against their country, and who perhaps thought themselves naturalized by the American government—I will only add, that since my last arrival in Canada, I have seen no symptoms of waste and decay, that appear to have a-

larmed you so much. To my judgment, it is daily exhibiting marks of increasing wealth, by the erection of buildings of every description. Within these last three years, towns have rapidly risen from their ashes, and villages have been built where there was not a single habitation. These, surely, are not the symptoms of waste and decay. I hold no place under government, have received no favours from it, nor do I look for any : perfectly satisfied with the situation I have chosen, I have seen no reason to regret the partiality for this country, its inhabitants and its government, which induced me to settle in it. I am, therefore, perfectly disinterested in the opinions I have given, and save the warm interest I have in the welfare of the colony—to use your own words, “I am free from influence.”

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

RICHARD LEONARD.

Drummond Hill, Niagara Falls, 18th February, 1818.

FOR THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

To MR. GOURLAY,

SIR,

YOUR second Address to the people of this Province, has produced, in the minds of many persons, an effect very different from that which you probably expected to excite. It is surely the extreme of arrogance in a stranger who acknowledges himself but a few months a resident in, or rather wanderer through, the country, to offer himself as the saviour of it ; and, in that self-assumed character, to dictate measures, and even words, to its inhabitants. Have we not, in this extensive Province, a single being sufficiently enlightened to distinguish between right and wrong, or possessing sufficient public spirit, or independence of mind, to assert his sentiments, that we must place our interests in the hands of a man who invited our confidence by an Address which explicitly stated motives of enquiry, his second as directly disavows ?

Sir, when motives are *really pure*, there is seldom, or never, a necessity for deception ; and when we have once been deceived, it is not

easy, by a few professions of good will, to regain confidence. Your second Address accuses the inhabitants of Upper Canada, of want of spirit, want of feeling, want of dignity—of slavish submission to a corrupt and tyrannical Government ; and still you profess a most affectionate regard for our interests, and an anxious wish to deliver us from the miseries and oppressions to which our own blindness, or, our own depravity have subjected us. If such is really the prevalent character amongst us, whence, Sir, arises the tender interest we have excited in the bosom of a stranger ? Do you believe us so easily deluded ? Do you suppose us ready to flock round the first individual who raises the baneful standard of faction in our free and happy country ? no Sir,—you are not the first *counterfeit saviour* we have had.—Other men, with talents and plausibility infinitely more dangerous than you possess, have sought to disturb our tranquility, and have found a few credulous and discontented spirits amongst us. I hope the detection and exposure of those men will rescue us from similar credulity. Their falsehoods, their pretences, their arrogance, have been exposed by an abler pen than mine. I shall not pretend to dive into the real motives that have influenced your two Addresses to the people of this Province. I hope your manifest inconsistency will suffice, of itself, to awaken doubts of your boasted purity of intention in the public mind. I will not canvass the propriety of the measures you urge, but I hope and believe no such step will be taken without mature consideration ; and surely, not at the instigation of one so avowedly loose in political principles as yourself.

I am no advocate for “*paltry patronage*” or “*ruinous favouritism*;” but if the first is *paltry*, its ill effects will not be very extensive ; and that the second cannot have been indulged to a very *ruinous* degree, is evident to every temperate and unprejudiced mind.—If, however, patronage or favouritism do really exist in any degree, it is time to check their influence ; but it is not by inflammatory addresses, or whining petitions, such an end is to be accomplished.—I leave the best means of attaining it to men of long tried integrity, of public spirit, and deserved popularity, and that kind Providence which has bestowed on us every other blessing, has not left us destitute of such characters as I have described. I had no personal acquaintance with your late Governor, but he stands high in the estimation

of all who have known him. Without entering into the particulars of his administration, I must acknowledge my conviction, that it is impossible for one man long to support two characters, and that the same principles of honor and integrity, indispensable to private virtue must unavoidably extend their influence to public conduct. Governor Gore *may* have been *impetuous*, but, of deliberate baseness in the betrayal of the sacred trust reposed in him, his bitterest enemies would blush to accuse him. After your first Address I should have been astonished to find you an advocate for the admission of American settlers into this Province, had you not previously disavowed all attachment to your own country or your own government—and with unexampled assurance treated the honest principles of loyalty as a phantom, and the sacred oaths of allegiance, as merely a temporary bond.

Lives there a Man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said
This is my dear my native land—

is a question doubtfully asked by a Poet of your own country, and the spontaneous reply of every feeling and patriotic heart would be, such a man cannot exist.

If your last publication has been the effect of mistaken zeal, be advised and acknowledge that it *was* mistaken.

If it was produced merely by the workings of a turbulent and factious spirit, be advised,—and remove to some land of *kindred* spirits, for here are none to support you.

If it was the effusion of *disappointed* ambition, and a mischievous endeavour to involve the public in a private broil, the failure of the attempt will be a sufficient punishment for having made it.

A RESIDENT LANDHOLDER.

February 26, 1818.

To MAJOR RICHARD LEONARD, DRUMMOND HILL, NIAGARA FALLS.

Niagara, 23d Feb. 1818.

SIR,

You have caused to be published in the Niagara Spectator, two letters addressed to me. The Editor shewed me these letters, in

manuscript, and, on reading the first, I said to him, it was a weak (or shallow) production, but, as it had a real signature, I should reply. Soon afterwards I met you in the street, and told you, that I was sorry, on your own account, that you should publish such things ; and begged of you to go with me to the Printing Office, that I might point out, to you, wherein you erred. I told you that sarcasm, or severity was quite allowable ; but that no one had a right to question motives ; that it was ungentlemanly, and would not be permitted in the House of Commons of England, where the utmost latitude was given to speech.

You were immovable. You said, that, you had consulted with a very *able* person and several more of your friends ; and, on no account, would retract. I repeated my sorrow ; and, said, that your conduct would oblige me to be severe.

Now Sir, knowing it to be true, that beating a fool in a mortar, can make him no wiser, I cease to regard you as a man, and shall cut you up, as an Anatomist does a carcase, merely for the benefit of the **SPECTATOR**.

You begin by expressing *surprise*, which invariably accompanies the *début* of a Goose ; and the *regret* of such an animal is only laughable. Your surprise, is occasioned by your thinking, that my second address professes sentiments different from the first ; but you are too much surprised to think of proof, and forthwith go on to cackle. You cackle through nineteen lines, and then tell me, that, *I affect*. Sir ! this accuses me of falsehood, and I return you the compliment. Having cackled over seven lines more, you insinuate, that *my* knowledge, of the Inhabitants of Upper Canada, is inferior, even to your “ limited knowledge ” ; and I am willing to let the Inhabitants decide. Being in happy contentment with your “ limited knowledge ” you are “ convinced ” that no people have fewer grievances to complain of, and talk of “ strong argument ” to support your opinion ; but, had you been ingenuous, you would have quoted the following passage from my address which is stronger than your argument. “ You are here as free, if you will; as any people upon “ earth : you have the power of taxation in your own hands, while, “ Britain, the most generous of nations, bears many of your burdens, “ and has shed her best blood in your defence.”

Your argument rests entirely upon an assertion, that there are no symptoms of discontent ; but look to the annexed Petition and you will find that I offer to prove, in the most solemn manner, that, not only discontent, but good cause for it, does, now, actually exist.

You go on to say, that, " my opinion is by no means flattering to " the well informed and respectable part of community". Sir, I never meant to flatter any part of the community : my invariable object has been truth ; and I have pointed out the constitutional, and only peaceable mode, not only of coming at this, but of correcting " injuries and insults" (I use your own language) " which no Government has a right to offer"—I have told the people of Canada *to petition for enquiry*, into the state of the Province.

After this we have some cackling, of which a grammatical Goose would be ashamed, closing with an assertion that the " *only* grievance I appear to dwell on, is, the non-admittance of settlers from " the United States :" in contradiction to which I quote my own words : " if allowed, I will prove the fact before the Bar of your " Parliament, that good faith has been trifled with, and that the " rights of property have been violated by the very functionaries ap- " pointed to render them sacred and secure."

Three sentences follow, with more nonsense and perversion, than I have time to expose, in detail. Your dread of *the thousands who would swarm in with wealth and American gold*, must have taken hold of you, when a Gosling, for, no Goose of mature nerve could ever be affected by it.

I did not ask you to subscribe to my doctrine of the right of changing allegiance ; but *I proved it*, by quoting an act of Parliament, and could have referred to several other acts, all corroborative of the same principle. You should have told us what was the fate of the men sent to England for trial : you know, that I approved of the hanging of those who were found in arms, against their Country, here.

The Declaration against America, published in the year 1812, was, in the main a masterly production ; but that part which dictated to us concerning allegiance, I never admitted to be sound ; so far from it, that at the time of its publication I had a serious inten-

tion, which I could prove if necessary, of protesting against it, as an individual, in the London newspapers. An allusion was made to it in my address, because I knew that the arbitrary step taken by the Executive in opposition to law, which provided for the admission of Americans into this Province, rested upon the authority of this Declaration ; and, there is not, among our loyal and patriotic duties, a single one, so exalted and imperative upon us, as resistance to the encroachment of Executive power upon the Acts of the Legislature, —the rising of the servant against the master.

You think my doctrine highly dangerous to the “*uninformed*”; but if *you* can stand it, all the rest of the *uninformed* are perfectly secure ; for, surely, Canada does not hold another man, so grossly ignorant and weak. You even forget what you are : you say you hold no place under Government, while you are a half-pay Officer. This is not so easily forgotten by me, who am charged with taxes in England, to keep you alive.

You see “no symptoms of waste and decay” because you see nothing beyond your nose,—nothing beyond the little frame dwelling you are erecting at Drummond Hill. My view, Sir, places before me at one glance, Ogdensburgh and Prescott, Lewiston and Queenston, Buffalo and Fort Erie, Detroit and Sandwich.—On the American side, I see all alive and active : on ours, all gloomy and dead. I look backwards and reflect what was the making of Canada.—It was peopled by a law which is now thwarted :—it had advantages which are now no more. Before the year 1807, all America flourished in common, from the devastation which war spread over Europe ; and when the American Government was so absurd as to resort to embargo and non-importation acts, Canada became, at once the entrepot of commerce, and the abode of peace.

Sir, when the words *waste and decay* fell from my pen, the ruins of the Hon. Robert Hamilton’s house were full in my view. That house, Sir, was reared and embellished out of the former prosperity of Canada : that house, Sir, used to be the hospitable resort of every Gentleman who visited the Province :—it has welcomed a Royal stranger, and warmed with its wine the best blood of England. In full confidence that “an indulgent and mild constitution” would remain unsullied, and, that wise laws, for the prosperity and growth

•f Canada, would never be set aside, the generous founder of that house, left provision by his WILL, for maintaining, to the remotest age, the true British hospitality, to which he so nobly gave commencement.—That house, Sir, was seized by our own military, and, by them, burnt down ; yet, not a penny has been paid in recompence to its owner ; and, so much has confidence in property been shaken that the largest Estate in Canada, would find it hard, by credit, to rebuild it. Go, Sir, and enquire of Farmers, if they can find a ready market for their wheat : go to Storekeepers, and ask, if they can get cash for goods :—tell me if land has maintained its price : tell me upon what you rest your hope of safety against being trod under foot by the very republicans, of whom you are alarmed. I, Sir, am seriously alarmed, and most seriously anxious to retain this Province to the British nation. Since I crossed the Atlantic, I have seen reasons, which make me, even enthusiastic in the cause ; and these reasons, I shall, on a proper occasion unfold. They are founded upon grand and liberal principles, having in view the most extensive benefits, not only to our nation, but to the human race. My first Address laid the foundation of my scheme : my second, made a pause, till I could ascertain, if there was spirit, in this country, to maintain the dignity of the law, and to preserve the rights of property inviolate. Insure me this, and Canada shall flourish :—insure me this, and it shall go beyond the United States, in prosperity, as the day outshines the night.

Having scanned your own letter, let us now proceed to that, of which you were mean enough to be the humble *Carrier*.

This letter, is, no doubt, the work of your *able* friend ; and it certainly displays more ability than your's ; although the sum of this ability is wasted on the invention of falsehoods and an artful adjustment of the most malignant insinuations. Regardless of truth, and jealous of reason, your able friend hurries from point to point, and would carry the unsuspecting, to his own conclusions ; but, whoever calmly questions and compares, as he goes along, will stand in no danger of being deceived. The letter bears some indications of a disordered imagination : and the best apology will not hide in it, the ravings of an angry man.

Jealousy, and Envy, and Pride, are the chief movers in this iniquitous production ; and their prime object is to stir up kindred pas-

sions in the bosom of the reader, against my character and designs. No less than three times do these evil passions wantonly profane the name of *Saviour*. Mark it well! These were the identical passions which festered in the breasts of the wicked, when the great Saviour of the world, blessed it with his instruction, and deigned to visit it, with example divine—Oh ! never ending ill. Oh ! human depravity, that will feed for ages, on every charitable,—every honest,—every sincere endeavour to ameliorate our condition, and raise us to heaven.

The proud, envious and jealous spirit of your friend, tells me, that I have not only offered myself as the *Saviour* of the country, but, “in that *self-assumed character* dictated measures, and even “*words*, to its inhabitants.” I have told out my mind ; and when I shrink from doing so, let it be said, that my boasted rights as a Briton, are tarnished. In utmost sincerity I have assisted my language, to make plain my meaning, by giving a *form* of a Petition ; but so far from wishing my words to be used, I have said, that “it “would be most desirable to see every man, or body of men, using “expressions, suitable to his, or their peculiar feeling :” and I now say, using some of your friend’s words, that if there is “a knowledge “of right and wrong in this extensive Province ;”—if there is “pub-“lic spirit” or “independence of mind,” *this is the time* to prove it. My *motives* have never changed ; but the urgency for enquiry has grown apparent, and strong, with my experience.

The lying spirit of your friend, insinuates, even through the mechanical medium of a varied type, that my motives are not *really pure*; then, driving home his insinuation with an undoubting “necessity “for deception,” and, trusting that his reader is “deceived,” assails “confidence” in me, by pointing to *professions*,” as if I had abandoned a single one advanced. The lying spirit thence proceeds to say, that I accuse “the inhabitants of Upper Canada, of want of spirit, “want of feeling, want of dignity,—of slavish submission to a cor-“rupt and tyrannical Government;” but, let my writings be searched from end to end, and it will be found, that this spirit justly merits the addition of *impudent*, to his epithets. I have uniformly extolled the Government ; but its ministers, most assuredly, I accuse.

The spirit of your able friend, become perturbed with exertion, now puffs out a volume of interrogatories ; and, with returning breath, labours on in his furious vocation.

He, at last, does me the justice to quote some of my words, and attempts a species of quibbling argument, in which he is singularly unfortunate.—The *patronage* and *favouritism* of Upper Canada, are, most strictly, at once, *paltry* and *ruinous*. The mass of the granted land is given to people who never think of occupying or improving it. To *them* it is a *paltry* gift, for it yields them nothing; and to the *country* it is *ruinous*; for, such land lies like a putrid carcase, injuring the health and checking the growth of all around it.

The cunning spirit, having sunk the importance of the subject, by his quibbling argument, rises a little in shew of energy, and, then sinks, with “long-tried integrity, public spirit, deserved popularity,” yea, even with “providence” itself, into utter hopelessness, of checking the “influence” of *patronage* and *favouritism*.

Having got these matters consigned to rest and oblivion, he thinks it safe to introduce “your (my) late Governor,” from which mode of expression, it seems as if he knew that I have long been a land-holder of Upper Canada, while he has but recently come to reside here on his late purchase, or more likely, his grant. How does this comport with his repeatedly calling me “a stranger,” “an unknown stranger,” and “a wanderer?” But, let us not lose sight of Governor Gore, with whom he says, “he had no *personal* acquaintance.” He does not choose to enter “into the particulars of his administration” which is much to be desired; and, by admitting that the Governor “*may* be *impetuous*,” wishes us to be diverted from the main question, as to “the betrayal of the sacred trust reposed in ‘him.’” He had no personal knowledge of the Governor; but, he pretends to be quite positive, that he could not be guilty of “deliberate baseness;” and, he is not only so well versed in the Governor’s character (without having any personal acquaintance) as to be sure of this; but he knows that of his enemies also, and assures us, that the bitterest of them “would blush to accuse him.”

Now, what is all this, but the farrago of a deceitful spirit labouring to blind us. We don’t care whether Governor Gore was impetuous or not: we don’t wish to suppose him guilty of deliberate baseness: we value as nothing your able friend’s conviction; and we stand in no need of the Governor’s bitterest enemies to accuse him. The charge against him is, that he has thwarted the intention of the law, and reduced the value of property, to an immense amount.

The wretched deceiver, after all these attempts, seeming still conscious of their impotence, again vents his wrath at my character and principles, and lugs in some verse to his assistance, which clearly applies, only to himself ; for what *land* can be *dear* to such a vagabond as this ?

It so happened, Sir, that immediately over your own letter in the newspaper, stood a quotation from one direct from England, exhibiting some little proof of the estimation I enjoy at home. Sir, there never crossed the Atlantic, one to whom his native land was more dear than myself ; and had I occasion to tell the tale of the misfortunes and persecution which have driven me here, it would start the blood from your heart, however watery and cold.

If, Sir, to use the stile of your insolent protégé, your conduct has been the effect of mistaken zeal, be advised and acknowledge that it *was* mistaken.

If you ever again desire to associate with British Officers, ask them if it is gentlemanly to attack one's *sincerity*, or to be the bearer of an anonymous libel against the *motives* of one who appears open before the public,—ask them and listen to their counsel.

If you would desire to be considered an honest man, and the friend of your family, give up the name of the person who has brought you to shame. Do this and apologize for yourself.

Sir, as I am perfectly sincere, and anxious, on account of your family, that no trifling consideration should make you hesitate in doing your duty, I have to beg that you will not slight my advice because I have designated myself “a British Farmer.” I became a farmer under no necessity of living by it ; and had I chosen your profession, should have considered myself, with the fortune and influence to which I was born, very unlucky, at this time of life, had I not been higher on the British Staff than you.

You hinted in conversation, that, I had borrowed some of my sentiments from one of my friends, and it has been rumoured that I am merely the mouth-piece of a party. Nothing can be more untrue. I began my statistical enquiries in Canada, and decided as to the false step of Governor Gore, before I arrived at this place, among my friends. I have all along acted so as to shield them from respon-

sibility, on my account; and, they have aided me so little, that at this hour I have not been furnished with a Report of this Township, in which so many of them reside. The Magistrates of this Township were the first to recommend my scheme, and I did them the honour to consign to their care what I had begun; but they met and seemed afraid of telling what they thought in answer to my 31st query; and here the matter rests, till, I suppose, it is known how the wind blows. A worthy Magistrate of the London District was more candid with me. He frankly said, that they (in his Township) would have answered this query more fully "if they dared;" and, I know that in Niagara one man *clenched* his fist, and another *shewed* his *claws*, in opposition.

Sir, for ten years I have stood by myself the supporter of very loft principles in Britain. It has been my uniform maxim to do all I can as *an individual*, but never to connect myself with party, in politics. After I had done with schools and colleges, I spent fifteen months travelling over England to inform myself as to its arts and agriculture. During this time, now 17 years ago, I was employed for some months by Government to make enquiry into the means of bettering the condition of the English poor. I *demonstrated* the principle with which I was charged, and, the adoption of that principle, with modifications, would have saved millions of money, and increased the comfort of millions of human beings. My employers shrunk from the principle, after it was proved; but I was not so easily moved. After keeping my eye upon it for eight years, residing in Scotland, as a farmer, upon my Fathers estate, I removed into England, and, taking a farm there, became Overseer of the Poor, and went thro' the whole detail of parish management, that I might be master of my subject, in practice, as well as in theory. After five years experience in this situation, finding my ideas becoming mature, I began to publish little tracts, signed and dated, from time to time, chiefly to manifest constancy to the object I had in view. These were continued into the third year, and a month before I left home, I had a Petition, bearing nearly a hundred signatures, presented to Parliament, to bring forward my scheme in a formal and serious manner. This Petition, Sir, was kept out of sight as much as possible by *powerful influences*, but I am not the man to desert a great cause, where I know I am right, and as soon as I return home it shall be advanced by further endeavours. It is

part of my present plan to make Canada, at once beneficial to the English poor, and a valuable extension of the British Empire.

Now, Sir, as I have exhibited *motives* which I would not otherwise have done, had I not been pushed to it by your narrow-minded and vile accusations, it becomes perfectly natural for me to suspect yours; and, equally fair, to give the public a clue by which they may account for the zeal in the cause you have espoused.

To your *able* friend I give the merit of the plot. An anonymous letter could not answer his purpose by itself. He knew your weakness, pointed out advantages in the game, flattered you into the conceit that you could write a letter, and prevailed with you to give your full address at *Niagara-Falls*, which would mark you from the furthest corner of the earth. Having thus made you his cats-paw, and got your letter and his printed in the same newspaper, it became an easy matter to enclose this in a blank cover and direct it to Major Halton,* agent for Upper Canada, London. Major H. in duty bound to Governor Gore, for having secured him a good £500 a year out of the taxes of Canada, would lose no time, on receipt, in running to Governor Gore. The Governor would say, my dear Major, write off instantly to *Richard Leonard, Drummond Hill, Niagara-Falls*. Tell him that I am inexpressibly obliged to him for having so manfully taken my part and stood in the way of enquiry.—Tell him that I have now more power over the good things of the Province than ever; and, that I will do any thing to *favour* him.—Tell him that he has only to send me the *number* of any reserve in any township, not located, and an *order* for it shall be sent him from home; or, if he is a half-pay Officer, and would like to be a Colonel in the Militia, or an Inspecting General, that I could help him to that. Desire Leonard to make enquiry and find out, *if possible*, who the Land Holder is who writes for me in the same paper *so ably*; and, ascertain if *he* would accept of any *favour*. He is the

* It was not perhaps right to introduce real names to brighten a fiction; but, this re-print affords an opportunity, which gives me pleasure, of stating that Major Halton does not neglect his duty to the Province. On good authority, I have heard, that when Ministers, at home, were consulting as to the appropriation of the confiscated Estates to the payment of the claims of sufferers in war, he remonstrated against the measure, and wrote a letter to the Speaker of Assembly that he had done so: notwithstanding this assurance, that the orders from home were not inadvertently given, how strange that this Assembly should still pay their compliments for an insult!

very man for us : and no unoccupied Post or Reserve shall be refused, if they but notify to us, *privately*, from time to time, what is going on, and of what they stand in need. Adieu, Sir.

CANADIANS!—The paper will admit of my saying but a few words to you. Review all that has been written,—think, and act for yourselves, like men. Let every one send in a Petition for enquiry ; or, cease to complain of unpaid claims and every thing else.—My own petition was sent off last week to York to be presented to the Legislative Council, as well as to the Assembly. I am told they will not receive it : be it so : I do my duty, and shall rest contented. Perhaps members are petted with what I said of their conduct last year ; but judge how far I was right by their own language since they last met. “Your Honor’s communication to us of the intention of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to apply the proceeds of the estates vested in His Majesty under the provisions of the Statute to declare certain persons therein described, aliens, to compensate the loss of individuals by the invasion of the enemy, affords us a strong and gratifying proof of the gracious consideration of His Royal Highness for those of His Majesty’s faithful subjects who suffered in the late contest.” Surely, members of Assembly will blush when they reflect on this adulatory language, which makes his Majesty’s *faithful* subjects, at once deceive His Majesty, and wrong themselves. Men in certain situations forget themselves, unless urged on by other men ; and the wisdom of the British constitution provides the means of doing this in the *right of petitioning*. How noble would it be, were members of Assembly, *voluntarily*, to rise above their weakness !

Gentlemen ! I lie under no pledge to you, but to publish your reports in England, and I will honorably redeem this pledge. Your Township reports shall be faithfully published ; but you cannot expect a single man to come to Canada, for the purchase of land, if security in property remains doubtful, and if the laws are to be at the mercy of every impetuous Governor. The Reports will be valuable at home, because they will prove the advantage of emigrating : but a choice will remain of coming here or going to the States.

The principle of allegiance which I maintain is perfectly sound. If not, the British Government has been stealing men from all the nations of the earth for the last four-score years.—If not, many thou-

sands of good people in the United States are liable to be hung the moment they set foot on British ground. If not, a full half of the adult population of Upper Canada have perjured themselves, and may be fairly put to death whenever they cross the American frontier.

The law and practice upon this principle, I have told you, are not sufficiently defined ; and, now, that all nations are at peace, is the very moment to get them settled. It is a duty which nations owe to individuals to define and settle these ; and it is the duty of individuals to call upon nations to do so.

In this part of the world, of all others, it is important that every thing should be clear on this head. Here, for many hundreds of miles, two nations, sprung from the same stock, speaking the same language, governed by the same laws, ruled by the same customs, assimilated by the same manners, and connected in a thousand ways, by the endearing ties of relationship, are closely in contact. Good God ! is the narrow boundary between two such Christian nations to flame with eternal hate ? Is the independent spirit of man to be confined by the accident of birth ? are we to have no law by which, in safety we may change our abode,—drawn from home by some darling incentive ; or driven perhaps, from the place of our nativity, before the whirlwind of oppression.

My principle of allegiance, Canadians, rests upon a more refined and stable basis than an oath ;—upon duty, upon affection, upon the sense of obligations received. These sentiments hold nations together more firmly than any oath ; and, they are sentiments of which we need not be ashamed, when we come into the presence of him who hath said, “ *swear not at all.* ”

ROBERT GOURLAY.

POSTSCRIPT.

The following Petition, together with a similar one addressed to the Legislative Council, were sent by me, last week, to York, in letter to the Honorable Thomas Clark, requesting him to present the latter to the Council, and to give the other to a member of Assembly for presentation to that body. A letter just received from

Mr. Clark, dated York, 23d inst. informs me, that he will neither present the one, nor give the other to be presented, because, he differs from me in opinion, and thinks, I have done wrong.

This is a most serious matter, and must be explained. Last year, at this time, the *right of petitioning* was argued more seriously in the British Parliament than at any former period. It was allowed that no Petition could be refused presentation, which was expressed in becoming language; and I have seen a member in our House of Commons present a Petition, stating that he did so, in *duty* to his constituents, although he differed from them in the opinions which the petition expressed.

It is perfectly plain, that, under such a system as the Borough-mongering system of England, or the Canadian system of patronage and favouritism, our right of petitioning, secured to us by the Bill of Rights, would not be worth having, if it rested with the *will* of members of Parliament. It is plain, that under the *free* exercise of this right, no British subject can honestly rebel against Government. When he thinks things are wrong, it is his *duty* to express his opinion, by petitioning; and as soon as a majority of his fellow subjects adhere together in petitioning for any one object, it must, of necessity, be carried.

I ask the inhabitants of Upper Canada to examine my petition, word by word. I am not conscious of a single one being out of place. Express my opinion as to enquiry, and ask for an opportunity of proving what I allege to be true. If my request is granted, and I fail in my proof, it will quiet the public mind. If I am denied, it must settle the point, that complaints are well grounded, and that certain people "love darkness rather than light, their deeds being evil."

I now notify, that, my Petitions will be given by Mr. Clark, to any member of the Council or Assembly, who offers to do the duty of presenting them respectively, and let they that do so be stiled, *the most worthy*.

I am in some hope, that my Honorable friend, Mr. Clark, will, himself, come alive to his duty, and, remember what the Poet says:

*Honor and shame from no condition rise :
Act well your part, there all the honor lies.*

R. G.

To the Honorable, the Commons of Upper Canada, in Parliament Assembled.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF ROBERT GOURLAY, ESQUIRE,
SHEWETH :

That your Petitioner is a British Subject; and, a proprietor of land, in Upper Canada.

That, your Petitioner came to this Province, to enquire into the state of his property; and, to ascertain, whether he could advantageously settle here.

That, your Petitioner has found his property greatly depreciated, owing to the suspension of law, a general mal-administration of affairs, and, the violation of public faith.

That, your Petitioner first discovered, that public faith was violated, at the new settlement of Perth, when he was there, the first week of July last.

That, your Petitioner then conceived, that such violation arose out of some misunderstanding, between the Home and Provincial Government:—that in this belief, and expecting to get speedily back to England for explanation, he, not only endeavoured to soothe the minds of the settlers, but sent home a favourable Report of the settlement, which has since been published, there, in the newspapers.

That, your Petitioner, having recently made an extensive Tour in the western parts of the Province, has had occasion to discover, that, violation of public faith was complained of by many, in these parts; and, that a very general spirit of discontent and despondency prevailed throughout.

That, in consequence of these discoveries, your Petitioner has since made further enquiry into the practices of the Colonial administration, and, into the causes which have influenced the direction of public affairs.

That, your Petitioner, having done so with an unprejudiced mind and in possession of a vast body of information, it is his solemn opinion, that a full and particular enquiry ought immediately to be made, by your Honorable House, into the state of the Province, and

that a commission should be appointed to proceed to England, for the purpose of laying the result of such enquiry, before the Throne; in order, to ensure measures, for future peace and prosperity, now endangered.

That, in the mean time, your Petitioner entreats to be examined at the bar of your Honorable House, and, to be allowed an opportunity of substantiating the facts, here, above, alleged.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

Niagara, Feb. 19, 1818.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SPECTATOR.

Niagara Fall Mills, Feb. 23d, 1818.

SIR,

In your paper of the 19th inst. under the head of "Elucidations and Remarks" and signed "ROBERT GOURLAY," I perceive a paragraph, in which the following words, viz: "*that my brother should have no other answer to his Petition than what I had received to mine,*" are stated as an answer given to me by one of the Clerks of the Executive Council at York, to my enquiry respecting an application for a grant of Land to Mr. Gourlay's Brother, and afterwards delivered by me to Mr. Gourlay. I should not have troubled you on a subject in which my name appears merely from accident, did not the words above stated appear to me liable to a construction different from those I actually made use of to Mr. Gourlay; and I have therefore to request that you will be good enough to give this note a place in your next paper, and to acquaint you that the words I made use of, and the answer given me at the Executive Council Office, was as follows: that, "*the answer to his Brother's Petition was the same as that which was given to his own.*"

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

SAMUEL STREET.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

Niagara, 24th Feb. 1818.

SIR,

Mr. Street, of the Fall Mills, has shewn me a letter, addressed to you for publication, in your Newspaper, wherein he corrects a mistake of mine, in his report of what was told him at the Executive Council Office, respecting the fate of my Brother's Petition. The public will observe that there is a little difference in the words (owing to my writing from memory) but none in the meaning, which in the least affects the point at issue; and, I am glad that Mr. Street should, with his signature, *confirm* a proof of the strange way of conducting affairs at York. That the public may see more clearly what I have been advancing, I annex a copy of my Brother's Petition. It will be recollect'd, that mine prayed for an *assurance*, as to a grant of land, *in the event* of my coming out here to settle; and, that the answer was shamefully *evasive*, considering, not only the clear intention on the face of the petition, but the previous trouble which had been taken by me, to make that intention obvious.

My Brother's Petition, prayed for a grant of land, he being *actually arrived*, to remain a settler, in the country: and I now ask, how could the *same* answer apply both to his case and mine? It is plain that he has been treated in this manner because of his connection with me; and that a total disregard of discretion exists in the Executive Council Office.

I wish the public to understand, that I never petitioned for a *favour* from the *individuals* who are paid by Government for performing the duties of the Executive branch. I petitioned in my *right*, as a British subject, to be treated in that character, according to my station in life. During this winter I have repeatedly written home to my friends to make an offer, directly to Lord Bathurst, for my contracting to settle the country with British subjects. I now say, that, if Government will give me the management of the public lands of Upper Canada for 30 years, I will maintain, during that time, two regiments for His Majesty: repair and keep in repair, all the Forts; and for the last twenty years of the term, pay an annual Rent to Britain, of a hundred thousand pounds sterling.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

To His Honor, Samuel Smith, Administering the Government of Upper Canada :

In Council.

THE PETITION OF THOMAS GOURLAY,
HUMBLY SHEWETH :

That, your Petitioner is a native of Fifeshire, North Britain, where, for upwards of forty years, your Petitioner's Father was the most extensive improver of land ; and, for the greater part of that time, in the commission of the Peace.

That, your Petitioner, was bound apprentice to a writer to the signet in Edinburgh, merely to qualify him for the liberal pursuits of a country life, at home ; but having changed his views, he has now come to Upper Canada, and means to engage in Agriculture, and the general branches of Commerce.

That, your Petitioner understands that your Honor, in Council, as a power of granting the wild lands of the Crown, to British Subjects.

Your Petitioner, therefore, solicits a grant of such quantity, as, under circumstances may seem meet.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

(Signed)

THOMAS GOURLAY.

January 9th, 1818.



ERRATA.

In Major Leonard's letter to Mr. Gourlay, published last week, the 2d line from the bottom of the first column, for "the most indulged of an indulgent and mild constitution," read "those enjoying a most indulgent and mild constitution." In the 17th line from the top of the 2d column, for "who had no accession," read "who had no accession," &c. In the 27th line from the top of the 2d column, for "discontented," read "disinterested." In the 7th line of the last paragraph, the words "as to the laws of nations" are to be used. In the 15th line of the last paragraph, for "arrival into Canada," read "arrival in Canada."

March 12, 1818.

To THE HONORABLE THOMAS CLARK, LEGISLATIVE COUNCILOR, UPPER CANADA.

Niagara, March 1st, 1818.

Go by way of Sacket's Harbour ! The Devil !—"tis the very error of the moon." My dear friend, Clark,—the bravest man in Upper Canada, with the strongest head and the best heart, bids me go by way of Sacket's Harbour !—bids me slink from my duty—flinch from my guns, when the enemy shakes in his shoes ! The Devil, I say, and nothing else, could be at the bottom of this. I'll shame the Devil : he's half ashamed already ; and if I am allowed to tell all the truth, as I have offered to do, he'll never again shew his face in the Province. I'll blow little York in the air, and "*every man of respectability*" with it, before I go by way of Sacket's Harbour ! York must be blown a second time in the air : filthy little place ! its atmosphere seems to weaken, and contaminate, every soul that inhales it.

Come, here's your letter, my friend. You are angry with me for publishing my correspondence with the people of York : but, no evidence, in the world, is more fair or convincing, than a series of letters. The exhibition of letters saves the trouble of swearing, and, the less of that, even to secure allegiance, the better. I published the correspondence to get all little personal matters out of the way before going to York, to give evidence in the great public cause ; and, this correspondence, published, and, *uncontradicted in Canada*, will prove all I wish to prove in England, as to the conduct of the Executive Council, in such matters.

To MR. ROBERT GOURLAY, QUEENSTON.

(*Favoured by Dr. Kerr.*)

York, Feb'y. 23d, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

Since writing to you this morning, I have re-perused your publication in the Niagara Spectator—and have to say, that I am still more displeased with it, as is also every gentleman in York, the more it is looked at, or talked of.—What could have induced you to

expose the President and others, and particularly yourself, in the manner you have done, I know not. Until this fatal error, most folks here, were inclined to befriend you : I can however now say, that it is my opinion that every man of respectability will be shy of you, should you come here ; and, that your feelings may not be still further hurt, I should recommend your remaining on the Niagara side of the Lake ; or, should you wish to go to Kingston (where there are many Reports waiting for you) that you should go by way of Sacket's Harbour.

With every wish for your welfare, in which Mr. Dickson joins me. I am, dear Sir, your's, &c.

(Signed)

THOMAS CLARK.

I betray no confidence in publishing this letter. It reveals no secret—exposes no private concern: it entirely regards public conduct, and strongly marks the alarm, created at York, from the developement of truth: it marks, also, the first sensation, excited in the unguarded mind, from the busy interference of Leonard, and the specious falsehoods of his artful accomplice. Though it is the letter of my real friend, it absolutely insults my understanding and my honor. It places me in a dilemma. I must either pocket the affront, and sacrifice my public duty to private feeling; or, throw this letter before the public, a powerful evidence in the cause I plead.

After consideration, no man will be more convinced of the urgency of this step than yourself. You will say, "Have not I spoken strongly to Mr. Gourlay, as to the mismanagement of public affairs?" "Have not I told him that, if there is no change, the Province will not belong to Britain for five years?"—You will say, "What is private feeling to public duty?" "What is pain to the salvation of life?" "What does my friend do to me, but rub my face with a little snow, because he thinks the frost is taking hold of my nose?" arguing thus, you will gain a glorious victory over yourself; and, seriously set to work in the cause, which is equally great and good.

The letter was flung out of a window to Dr. Kerr, as he was leaving York; and, coming here, by easy journeys, he delivered it to me, afternoon of Saturday the 28th February.

I can imagine circumstances which influenced you in writing this letter. You dined on Monday with the Honorable This, the Honorable That, Doct. Thingam, and others. They were no sooner met, than the SPECTATOR was talked of. "Well, what do you think of "it now?" says the Doctor: "didn't I tell, from the beginning, what "this fellow was? Here is private correspondence published to the "world: what gentleman would do that?" The Doctor keeps it up, even walking thro' the saloon (if there are saloons in little York), to dinner. After dinner the subject is resumed, openly; having engaged committees, between courses. They do not talk to you: they talk *at* you. Eyes say more than tongues. They upbraid you on my account. "Why did you *take him by the hand?*" "Why did "you lodge and feed him?" "Why did you not let him die of mus- "quito bites?" "Why did you save him, thus to laugh, even at "the newspaper musquetoes of Canada; and, to silence the *major-* "ing of half-pay officers?"

Tell me not, that the bravest man may get white livered: I know it to be true, that he, who, with undaunted step, can march up to a cannon's mouth, may wax pale before "the world's dread laugh," or, be borne down before the tide of prevailing opinion.

You coloured and were sore vexed.—You went home ashamed of me: felt easier when you had written me, to get out of the way, by Sacket's Harbour: gave the letter to Billy to fling out of the window, in the morning, to Dr. Kerr; and, went to sleep.

Now, my Dear Sir, you will feel a little angry at my publishing all this; but on reflection, you will think me perfectly correct: you will, indeed, thank me for it. The salvation of this Province depends upon a few of you, now at York, sacrificing every little consideration—tearing yourselves from the fascinations of personal feeling, and, *really* doing your duty.

Is it not notorious, that you and my friend Dickson, were actually the preservers of this Province, when the enemy first pounced upon it? Did you not instantly, upon the credit of your names, raise means, which Government had neglected, to defray the expences of defence? Were you not, during the most trying period of the war, the very foremost man, in the most perilous adventures? Did you

not persevere, till the very flesh of your body was worn off with fatigue? Did you not come home to us in Britain, wounded and faint, —almost without a hope, but that of laying your bones to rest, in the land of your ancestors?—and all this for Canada; which you are now abandoning,—whipt from your post of honour by the *taus* of an arrogant and paltry Schoolmaster! O God! give me charity towards my enemies; but, more especially patience with my friends; and, above all, give me a face of brass, that I may be able to out-tare the whole host of weakness, hypocrisy and deceit, which has entrenched itself in little York, under the false banner of, *respectability.*

This to be sure is imagination: but, here is reality, on my side. You wrote me, in a letter dated 21st February, from York, desiring that I should bring with me to that place “a few Niagara Spectators of the 12th,” as they were there in demand, and would “now ring 12 dollars a piece”—to come in a black suit to look respectable before the Bar of the House, as the folks there were all in mourning; and, in your first letter of the 23d, you bade me give your “compliments to Major Leonard.”

The following is a copy of my answer.

TO THE HONORABLE THOMAS CLARK.

Niagara, 27th February, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 23d has greatly disappointed me, as I did not expect you to flinch, at this time, from what, I am clearly of opinion, is your duty. You will see what compliments I have given your friend Major Leonard, in the SPECTATOR. On reading my Petition over and over again, I can see nothing to alter but one letter, in the word *allege*. I have put in a d, which I shall thank you, carefully to erase, in both copies, as it may be spared. Instead of buying a new coat to appear in at York, I shall go in my oldest one, to be in character among shabby fellows; and, I shall deepen my court mourning, because of the want of public spirit, by renting it wide at the elbows.—

All is well otherwise—

ROBERT GOURLAY.

You accuse me of *exposing* myself :—leave it so :—let your accusation be recorded with all that I have done in Canada, that futurity may judge of it. You accuse me of *exposing* the President ; but, why should he not be exposed, in his public capacity ? Enquire into the practices of our first statesmen at home, and you will find that, *as public men*, they abuse each other like pick-pockets ; and the very next day crack a bottle together, in the utmost conviviality of *private* friendship. I published a letter of the President's marked *private*, and for what reason ? It contained not a word of consequence to conceal. The word *private* was written upon it merely to distinguish it, from an *official* communication. The letter was a proof of Colonel Smith's attention to me as a gentleman ; and, its publication was called for, in justice to his private feelings.

From the hour that I was introduced to Colonel Smith, I felt the utmost assurance that he was willing to pay me every attention, and afford me every assistance in my Statistical enquiries. I shall never forget the frank way in which he talked to me of my scheme—getting Mr. Ridout's Report, and so forth ; and, I am sure that he must have been opposed in Council in his wishes to promote my views : after which, it was his public duty to be silent. It is the very “error of the moon” to suppose that I have improperly accused the President, or, injured him as a private gentleman ; and, it will be his fault if I have not the honor of shaking hands with him at York. My heart is as free towards him as your's.

With regard to “others,” I presume you allude to the sarcasm aimed at Doctor Strachan. With this man I will not shake hands. You know he was sent out from Scotland by my wife's uncle, some twenty years ago—glad to get into his friend's family, as preceptor to the children. By a concurrence of fortuitous events, certainly not from superior ability, he has got on horseback ; and, you know how some people ride, when so mounted. Has he a single man to countenance him, as the writer of a certain letter to Lord Selkirk ?—Has he apologised to the public for that most unbecoming act, which in my opinion, contributed not a little, to the Red river massacre. Do you remember of my declaring, before I visited York, that I would have no introduction to this little man ? Does the Editor of the Gazette remember, that I wished to see a book at York which *he* had, but declined asking it ? Does the same person remem-

ber that I refused to let him shew the proof sheet, of my first address, to Dr. Strachan, which I most cordially begged the President to peruse? All this was before I heard of his fault-finding with my publication. I wished to steer clear of him, but could not; and, when I last alluded to him, it was in disgust at his advertising, in the newspapers, that the *subscriber*, was to teach philosophy to get the *school house painted*. What would be thought in London, if an Executive Councillor was so to bemean himself? what would be thought of the *subscriber* in one of our universities? what am I not entitled to say of a man, who provokes, with vulgar trifling of this sort, while the duties, for which he is paid by Government, remain unperformed?—while the petitions of my brother and self lay, for months on the Council table, and are denied a civil answer?—when all this time I am detained 4000 miles apart from my family? Dr. Strachan, most assuredly, is fair game before the public. Let him apologize to Lord Selkirk: let him never again intermeddle with the free commercial speculations of any individual: let him never again blow up strife among mankind: let him give up dabbling in politics, and trifling with philosophy: let him resign his seat in council, where no priest should ever have a place: let him get into a penitentiary: let him stick to the altar, where his utmost zeal and ability has scope,—and then we shall leave him to God, and his conscience. In the mean time how are we to make such a man feel his misconduct, but, by the lash of satire,—by exposing him to the world,—by assailing his unbounded vanity?

I expose nobody without good cause. I exposed your friend Governor Gore, because he stood the ostensible cause of incalculable mischief to the Province; but, perhaps I should have told the public, that he had orders from home for what he did: so the Governor's secretary informed me. This makes little difference as to the conduct which should be pursued. It is proper to arraign the Governor; but, if he can shift the accusation from himself to the prime minister, let *him* be brought to contrition: let us go home and arraign *him*. Let every thing, and every man, be exposed for the sake of truth, justice and the law.

You speak of the folks being “inclined to befriend” me. This argues a misconception which I must correct. My endeavours in the public cause are not to procure friends, but, to unite men toge-

ther in the bonds of patriotism. If they befriend me, so much the better ; but, I despise *their* friendship, who desert the rigorous course of public duty. If I had wanted to gain mere personal friends, and serve my private ends, very different should have been my conduct. I knew that bowing and scraping by the way, was incompatible, with the attainment of great objects ; and, I have, upon principle, been stoically indifferent to trifles. I have kept my eye steadily bent on the great object before me. I have asked the people of the Province, to petition for enquiry, and have, myself, sent you petitions. If neither the people, nor you Legislators at York, choose to join and assist me, so as to get a commission sent home, I shall go home and petition there, to have a commission of enquiry sent, from thence, to Canada. You have great interests here, and, it would be the natural course of things, for, you, and others, resident in the country, to whom its neglect and ruin are most apparent, to make the first move. The people of England, however, have also great interests, and should you remain supine, I shall endeavour to rouse *them* to the importance of the subject. You see I have flung out an offer in the last *SPECTATOR*, to draw attention to the value of Canada. Whether England pays out one hundred thousand pounds a year, or receives one hundred thousand pounds a year, is no trifling consideration : and, you have only to take your pen and ink to satisfy yourself that my offer may be fulfilled. I have indeed conversed with you repeatedly as to such a proposal, as that now made public : and, you have acknowledged that it was the true way of doing most, both for the Province, and the Government.— A London banker goes to the minister with empty pockets, and contracts for a loan of twenty millions, which in a week is made light to him, by the purchase of all the shares, at a premium. Why should we dread of accomplishing something great on the credit of the Township Reports of Canada ?—Rouse yourself my friend : this is a speculation worthy the consideration of him whose mill wheels go round by the rapids of Niagara.

My dear Clark ! Can you really suppose, after having known me intimately for years ;—after knowing that I have drank to the dregs, the bitter cup of this world's misery, and stood the utmost blast of misfortune and persecution, to sustain my honor and my principles, —after knowing that for eight years I have contended with the se-

second Peer of England and put him, with his whole host of learned lawyers and perjured witnesses, to the route ;—after knowing all this and much more, decisive of my strength of mind, can you really for a moment suppose that I would care a single fig's end if all the folks at York, and you at the head of them, were to “*be shy of*” me, while I am conscious of doing my duty ? Away with the respectability of little York. You, there, pay 10 dollars for a scrap of my writing on Saturday—hear Doctor Strachan preach all Sunday ; and, on Monday are *shy of me*, because I have published a correspondence which, without further ado, will make all the people of England *shy of the Executive Council*.—I'll punish you for it. I'll actually go to York in my old black coat, rent at the elbows, and sit down by the side of you at dinner, among the Honourable Councillors.

Tell the Honorable William Dickson, that I accept his “*wishes for my welfare*” only on condition that he is not *shy of me* at York, but maintains throughout the same spirit which he uniformly supported on this side of the Lake. Say that I do not think with him, that Legislative Councillors are appointed to guard the interests of the Crown ; if by that, he meant the Crown only. The ancient Barons nursed up the liberties of the people of Britain, often, in opposition to the Crown, and were the grand means of reducing regal authority to its present innocuous condition. They are bound in honor to do their utmost, not to support *part*, but the whole of the constitution ; and, by doing so, they will always best sustain the Royal dignity. Tell my Honorable friend, further, that I do not swallow down, so cordially as he does, the rhapsody of Burke, about nobility being “*the cheap defence of a nation*.”

Tell the Honorable William Claus, that I have lately received a written remonstrance, from some Indian Chiefs of the Grand River, against his conduct ; and shall do justice to it by publication in England, whether you “*take me by the hand*” or not.

Tell the Honorable John Strachan, that the harshest epithet applied to the Schoolmaster, who figures in this letter, was borrowed from the lips of an Honorable Legislative Councillor, of Upper Canada.

Tell the Honorable Chief Justice Powell, that I have caused to be published, in the Niagara Spectator, at your desire, an extract from Cuvillier's Speech. The monopoly of places of power and influence is indeed a most serious evil any where ; but, particularly so in a Provincial Government. The mere publishing of any man's opinion will do nothing towards removing such a grievance. You should protest against it in the Legislative Council ; and, having done this, as a duty, move for enquiry into the state of the Province, and, for a commission to go home to get this, and all other matters that are wrong, as speedily put to rights as possible.

The Chief Justice would be better than an Angel, were he voluntarily to relinquish any of the places he has won by his superior talents ; and, there is no power in the Province to compel him. At home they would see the propriety of raising his pay as a Judge beyond the present pittance, which would not keep up the dignity of an English gentleman farmer : they would do this, and liberally compound with him for the relinquishment of his other places of dignity.

Tell his Honor the Administrator, that I have just now been enquiring for poor Angelique Pilote, confined in the Jail here, whose ignorance and the inadvertancy of others, brought her to condemnation ; who experienced the most cruel injustice ; and, whose innocence of appearance could not draw from the heart of her, too late appointed, Counsellor, a single syllable in appeal to the feelings of the jurymen who were to decide her fate. Tell his Honor that I have received answers to letters despatched to England long after I wrote the petition to the Prince Regent, in behalf of this poor neglected wretch ; and, that I much suspect the *delays* of office have *delayed* the Royal clemency. In telling this, let Colonel Smith be guarded against thinking that I reproach his *private* character.—With such a guard you may also say, that by a letter just received from England, (which you, or he, may see if you please) I find that the delay of answering my petition, which was the chief cause of my departing from my plan of going home in January, will injure me more than ten times the value of the largest grant which the Council can bestow, to say nothing of an *assurance*, or merely a civil refusal or explanation, with any of which I should have been perfectly satisfied.

I am so little acquainted with Members of Assembly, that I have nothing to communicate directly to any one of them. I have just seen a letter from a Representative of this District, asking the *favour* of a friend of ours to give a certificate to the Bearer, of what he knew of his commanding the Provincial Artillery Drivers, and how he conducted himself until the time of his resignation, wishing it to lay before the Administrator in Council, *as he was about applying for land.*

Having no wish to interfere as to the grant of land, I shall say nothing of what our friend knew of the driving of the Artillery ; but, really wish that all applications for land were out of the minds of Members of Assembly till the public duty, for which they are now at York is faithfully performed ; and, if possible, the answer to the Administrator's Speech amended, by a second answer, recalling the disgusting acquiescence as to the payment of claims out of the forfeited estates, which will otherwise go home to England, an undeniable proof of the contentment of the people of the Province, and shut the door against all further attempts to procure justice for the numerous sufferers.

Now, my Honorable friend, I shall conclude with a very few words to yourself. Your first letter of the 23d Feby. astonished me not a little, and I alluded to it in last week's SPECTATOR. Your second letter grieved me to the heart ; but, I have got over my grief as much as possible, by making a joke of my escape by Sackett's Harbor. Suppose, however, I had really taken your advice ; what would have been the consequence ? Would it not have exhibited me to the whole world as a miscreant, whose conscience was blighted with crime ? Would it not have bartered away, for a blasted name, the best hope of my life ? — that of being able to contribute to the advancement and security of human happiness.

What have I yet experienced in return for my humble endeavours ? In return for having offered my services to this Province, I have not only been treated like a blackguard by the Executive Council ; but, have stood the pelting of every fool and sycophant, who chose to vent his weakness or his spleen against me, through the cowardly medium of anonymous writings : — in return for having sent to York a petition, in my right as a British subject, praying to be allowed

to prove, what it was my duty to aver, I am deserted, degraded, and insulted by my friend ! !

May the monstrous height of all this injustice be the cause of its own downfall ; and, may my friend be the first to triumph over his frailty, by an immediate, a zealous, and a persevering endeavour, to perform those sacred duties, which we have a right to expect, even from the *nominal* honor conferred upon him by our Sovereign the King.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

To, THOMAS DICKSON, THOMAS BUTLER, JAMES MUIRHEAD, ROBERT KERR, Esquires, and the Rev. ROBERT ADDISON, Magistrates of the Township of Niagara.

GENTLEMEN,

I am this day in humour to *expose* my friends ; and, here above I have pricked up, in a bunch, five of their names, to public notice.— “ In what have we offended ? ” say you, standing in amaze, “ is the man mad ? ”—Perfectly reasonable, Gentlemen, quite cool I assure you.

In the Niagara SPECTATOR, of the 13th November last, you recommended attention to my Address to the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada. I was grateful for your attention to the public weal : I was willing to make over to one of you, in the name of all the Magistrates of the District, the charge of the Statistical Reports of the Province : I redoubled my efforts, in the public cause, having lightened myself of personal responsibility. Your recommendation was of essential service : it encouraged others, not only to recommend, but to *act*. What became of your own energy and zeal ? They have yet produced me nothing. I have, indeed, seen a Report of the Township of Niagara, but it had neither head nor tail ; and, is now in York, a very proper hiding place for such a weakling—such a *lusus naturæ*.

The value of the Report is little, compared to the consequence of your conduct towards me, and the cause, in which I have been stimulated to persevere, by the prompt assistance of many hundreds

of people, and the most flattering testimonials of their confidence in my endeavours to promote the welfare of Canada.

At this moment I most heartily free you from blame as individuals. I believe you have meant me no dishonor: I believe that indolence or procrastination may be in fault; but, let me ask what might be said in England were I to go home, under present appearances, and without explanation?

It is not only notorious, that, several of the leading men of this place have opposed my designs, (for what reason they know best) but the public prints, here, have been resorted to by anonymous libellers, to create low suspicions and misdirect popular feeling, in a degree, which, perhaps, no such occasion ever before called forth.

Were I to go home without public explanation, it might be asked of me, "what was the reason that the Magistrates, who were the "first to espouse your cause, withdrew, or became slack in their "endeavours? surely," it might be said, "there must have been "something very wrong on *his* part, who could not obtain, but by "forced or underhand means, a Report of the very Township in "which were resident most of his relations and friends." Gentlemen, calmly consider this, and come forward, with explanation.— In the Township in which I am best known I challenge you to accuse my conduct, either as a private or public character—either here, or, at home.

ROBERT GOURLAY.



The following extract from the SPEECH of Mr. Cuvillier, in the Assembly of the Lower Province, is copied from the Montreal Herald; and, the doctrine which it maintains, should, we think, be treasured up by our readers among the maxims of political œconomy. Nothing certainly can be more subversive of the grand purposes of legislation, than permitting a plurality of places of profit, trust, and dignity, under government, to centre in the same person.

" He had, indeed, been told of many instances of oppression, but he thought the greater part of them irrelevant in the present instance, and perhaps exaggerated—he had firmer grounds to go upon—he believed it would not be denied to him that the Judicial

Powers, particularly those of conflicting Jurisdictions, ought to be disunited and vested in different hands—It was, he believed, the opinion of the most venerable Jurisconsults of the British Nation, that, upon this *division of power*, depended the security of the Subject, and the dignity and honor of the Crown.—(Mr. C. cited some authorities on the subject.) Not only was the administration of the justice of two conflicting Jurisdictions in the same hands, but the same gentleman to whom he alluded, had at the same time, a seat in the Executive Council, and as such was a Judge in the Court of Appeals, the highest jurisdiction in the Province.—Here then was a re-union of Judicial Offices, the most monstrous, the most dangerous and the most unconstitutional, in the hands of a single individual, that, of judging in the *Vice-Admiralty*, in the *King's Bench*, and in *Appeals*. When members reflected, that in addition to these, the same individual sat as an Executive Councillor, and, as such, had a share in the direction of the public councils, he would ask, where was the security of the life, the liberty or the property of the subject? He believed there was not another Colony belonging to the Empire, in which there existed such an anomaly in the organization of Courts, as in this Province. Our Chief Justices were at once Legislators, Councillors and Judges : they united in themselves the Legislative, the Judiciary, and Executive powers. They were here legislating to-day, to-morrow in Council, and the next day in Court. This one was at one moment administering justice in the Vice-Admiralty, and the next he was judging in the King's Bench : that one was at once a judge and a Legislator ; and in fact, one would suppose, by their monopoly of places and incompatible offices, that these honorable personages had not enough to live upon with a thousand a year. If such were really the case, he, for one, would be proud in contributing to improve their revenues so as to render them perfectly comfortable and independent, as it was absolutely necessary that they should be so. If the Judges had not enough with a thousand a year, for God's sake give them fifteen hundred a year, or more, if necessary ; but let them do nothing but judge, and let them be Judges in one Court only : let us not compel them through indigence, to prostitute the dignity of their offices, by grasping every little place within their reach, which may in fact, be necessary to enable them to subsist."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

SIR,

I believe the Inhabitants of Upper Canada, are not naturally inclined to take part in political discussions, but the addresses of Mr. Gourlay, have lately awakened their attention, and elicited their sentiments upon an interesting subject. I have, as yet, refrained from publicly expressing what my ideas are with regard to this gentleman's proceedings, for I preferred being guided in my opinion of their propriety, by the consequences resulting from them, rather than by the impressions they gave birth to at the moment. Though hitherto a silent, I have all along been an attentive observer of Mr. G's measures. I believe I am unprejudiced, for I feel convinced, that the opposition he meets with originates partly from the effects which the wilful misrepresentations of his enemies have upon the public mind, and partly from the ignorance which prevails concerning his object and motives. The present is an interesting crisis. It has displayed, in a strong light, several traits of character existing among the people of Canada, which lay before concealed, because no circumstances tended to elicit them. Future reformers may now receive a lesson, the remembrance of which will serve to guide them in the choice and application of their measures, and teach them that political opposition is oftener the result of individual pride and envy, than of a patriotic desire for national good—Mr. G's. first address, from the novelty of its object, naturally excited much attention, and men of liberal minds, in their desire for its accomplishment, forgot that it was not very conciliatory. The principal defect and most offensive thing in Mr. G's. address, was the tone of superiority which characterized it. He too often told the people of Canada, that they were excelled by those of Britain. This was particularly injudicious, for a kind of false pride prevails among the inhabitants of this country, and makes them impatient of censure, and inclines them to believe that he who mentions their deficiency, insults their dignity. His address tended rather to provoke than conciliate the minds of the people. He did not attempt to seduce and flatter them into an acquiescence in his measures, but rather endeavoured to force it by an allusion to their present deficiencies, and the causes which had retarded the improvement of the Province. All this, however, ought to have been forgotten, when the importance of his object was considered, and his capability of accomplishing it

duly estimated.—Notwithstanding the opposition Mr. G. met with, his success was very flattering. Reports poured in from all quarters, and it was the general opinion, that he had fully succeeded in his plans, when his second address again roused the public attention. Its object was to show that all his exertions would be in vain, unless an alteration, and improvement in the political management of the country, immediately took place.—Whether or not the information Mr. G. received in the course of his travels, and collected from the reports, rendered such a declaration eligible and necessary, can be judged of by himself only, as the sources of his knowledge have not been laid before the public. I do not pretend to give any opinion about the matter, for I feel myself quite unqualified to do so.—I mean to make my remarks upon the consequences of his measures—not upon their propriety. The effect which a political discussion would have upon the people of Canada, was not known until after the publication of Mr. G's. address, for the inhabitants of this country, partly from inclination, and partly from other circumstances, have hitherto interfered little in the affairs of government. The members of Parliament, after they are elected, never attempt to ascertain the opinion of their constituents upon any subject brought under discussion. And they have a good reason for this. The majority of voters are not qualified to judge of the propriety of any proposed measure, and thus they naturally lose all interest in, what they have no influence over. In a newly peopled, and thinly inhabited country, the form and purity of government are comparatively of little importance, for society is then in such a state of simplicity, and disconnection, that it is seldom necessary to enforce much subordination among its members. A man is seldom much interested in the political affairs of his country, until they begin to affect him individually, and this does not happen, unless the population is large, and society is organized, and divided into classes. The great object of administration, is to preserve the relations which ought to subsist between the different orders of society, and to prevent classes, or single individuals, from making encroachments upon the rights, or property of each other. It is not difficult to discover why the Canadians are so indifferent about the political state of their country. They enjoy so much independence, and suffer so few national grievances and taxations, that they naturally think their condition cannot be better, and therefore feel no inclination to interfere with their

governors, as long as the latter do not interfere with them. But if their properties were burdened, and their liberties abridged by the Legislature, they would not long remain in their present contented state, nor be so indifferent about the measures pursued by their government. It must be evident, that in a newly settled country, the happiness of the people is not a certain proof of the purity and excellence of the administration, for the inhabitants, as I have already mentioned, are not much exposed to its effects. Therefore the principal argument which has been used against Mr. G's proceedings is of no weight whatever. His opponents tell him, that the inhabitants of Canada, are in a state of perfect contentment and happiness. This, as far as I am able to judge, is truly the case, but it is the natural consequence of the blessings and advantages which this country so profusely bestows on those who settle in it. There is no other cause which has contributed to deter the people of Canada, from engaging in politics. This country has drawn its population from so many different nations, that disaffection to the government is more likely to occur in individuals, than if they were natural born subjects. Nothing provokes or insults a man who is not a natural born subject more, than being suspected of disaffection. The possibility of disaffection is so great, that the slightest murmur against government would almost be considered as a breach of allegiance. Those who are not natural born subjects, therefore, feel unwilling to express their disapprobation of any measures pursued by government, lest they should be regarded as incendiaries, and promoters of rebellion. They have not had sufficient experience in politics to know, that a man may be firmly, and ardently attached to that government which he accuses of defects and inconsistencies.

These causes have not a little contributed to repress political enquiry, and it is not surprising that the people of Canada should be startled by Mr. G's. second address. But they have not received it with the liberality they ought to have shown. They seem more offended with his presumption, than interested in ascertaining the correctness of the charges which he lays against their government. Whatever they may say; I am convinced that all this originates from false pride. They are unwilling to acknowledge that he has discovered abuses, of the existence of which they were not previously aware. As an objection to the truth of what Mr. G. states in his ad-

dress, I hear many people urge the following query—" why was not all this found out before?" But this is no argument whatever against the thing, and is the precise exclamation often uttered by foolish and ignorant people after a discovery of any kind has been made. They say, " it is astonishing, that this was not found out before." But the people of Canada may feel satisfied that their being behind-hand with Mr. G. in political knowledge, neither shows a want of ability, or discernment, but proceeds entirely from the peculiar condition of society, which, as I have already remarked, yields no excitement to political enquiries.

Every impartial observer must acknowledge that Mr. G. has been too precipitate in his measures. He appears to possess more genius than judgment. He has too much enthusiasm for a reformer. The advantage or bad tendency of any line of conduct, darts into his mind so rapidly, that while he is pursuing it, other people are hesitating about its propriety ; and, his mode of proceeding shows, that he has less knowledge of the character of the people of Canada, than might have been expected. Though the inhabitants of this country have some reason to be irritated at Mr. G. they ought to treat him with more liberality. He has been called an incendiary, accused of laxity of political principle, and some have hinted, that his proceedings are dictated by disappointed ambition. As far as I can judge, none of these charges are correct. I am convinced that his views are liberal and extensive ; but he has been hurried on by natural precipitation, to pursue a line of conduct injudiciously bold. He has leaped when he should have walked, but let his opponents remember, that there are scarcely any limits to political discussion in Great Britain. Those individuals who wish to repress Mr. G's. measures, give them additional consequence by violently opposing them. He would have been much less formidable and important, had he been less regarded. I confess I am rather surprised at the tumult he has excited. In Britain he might publish an address similar to his last, once a week, for several months together, and perhaps not receive a single reply to it. The people there are so accustomed to hear their government abused, that they pay no attention to what a single individual says. There would not be such a thing as politics, if there was no opposition. When the celebrated Dr. Johnsen wrote pamphlets, he always wished that they might be

answered, for, observes he, "the ball has no effect unless it rebounds." I was not an enemy to the publication of Mr. G's. second address, (notwithstanding my opinion that the style was too bold, and the sentiments rather exceptionable) for I thought it could not be offensive to government, unless the statements it contained were true. It is not a principle of the British government to repress political discussion. It is a knowledge of public affairs, and a liberal enquiry into them, that gives a people confidence in their rulers, and makes them cautiously, and hesitatingly believe any aspersions thrown out against their administration.

It is not my intention to write a defence of Mr. G. but I cannot avoid remarking, that some of his opponents have raised very ill-founded objections to his capability of accomplishing what he had undertaken. They say that his knowledge of the country cannot be extensive from his short residence in it. But I am convinced that his opportunities of obtaining information have perhaps exceeded those of any person now in the Province. If he has made a bad and dangerous use of that knowledge, no one can lament it more than I do. Mr. G. is called a stranger and a wanderer, and it is asked why he intermeddles with the affairs of a foreign country. But Upper Canada is a part of the British empire. It enjoys the same government and privileges as its parent nation. It is in a great degree peopled by British subjects, and their descendants. It uses the same language, exhibits the same manners, and is defended by the same blood and treasure. Surely then a British subject cannot with propriety be styled a foreigner by the inhabitants of this country. I am a native of Britain—yet I feel nearly as much interest in Canada and its Inhabitants as I do for my parent land. I am not so national as to exclude from my sympathies every part of the world but that in which I was born ; and were I a political character, I should think myself, if not equally qualified, at least as much entitled, to give my opinion upon the administration of Canada, as upon that of Britain—every feeling of nationality should be banished when political subjects are under discussion, for it alone gives rise to many of the petty cavils, and malicious insinuations, which the contending parties often throw out against each other. I do not allude in particular to the disputes concerning Mr. G. with which the newspapers have lately been filled ; though I must acknowledge that the

controversy has now fallen to a level, not very creditable to either party—It is, to use Mr. G's words, “dull, dirty and disgusting;” and instead of producing national good, tends powerfully to excite individual animosity. I do not feel attached to either side of the question—I am happy to say, that I am too ignorant to form an opinion upon the correctness of the charges Mr. G. brings against the administration. I have made no enquiries concerning the government since I came to Canada, and therefore know nothing of the abuses which are said to exist in it.—I detest politics, and the more influence I had over them, I should feel the less inclined to use it: I would exclaim in the words of Hamlet,

The times are out of joint, Oh cursed spite,
That I was ever born to set them right.

I am of opinion that, even although there are no abuses to rectify, Mr. Gourlay's publications will be of service. They will tend to excite a spirit of enquiry which may be useful in future times; and I fervently hope, that the next reformer who appears in this country, may in addition to Mr. G's talents and capacity, possess judgment and discretion, to guide him in his mode of proceeding; and that the higher classes of the Inhabitants of Canada, may combine more toleration and liberality, with that character of benevolence, probity, and domestic virtue which renders their country, and themselves, so deservedly pleasing to strangers and travellers.

I am Sir,

your obedient servt.

THE TRAVELLER.



March 19, 1818.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

Niagara, 16th March, 1818.

SIR,

It has been a rule, hitherto invariably followed by me, never to regard the writings of those who deny us their names. I shall now make exception in favour of your correspondent, the Traveller. Th-

sincerity which characterises his writing is manifest ; and, where, in the main, there is sincerity, we are willing to let timidity plead for a feigned signature. The Traveller means to do good, and, without a breath of malevolence, labours in the cause of truth. If his labour is in aught deficient, we blame not the man : we try to find for him an appology : we assume the words of the Poet, and say,

“ Who does the best his circumstance allows
“ Does well”

The Traveller's production has sufficient store of the *squatiter in modo*, but is wofully destitute of the *fortiter in re* : it “ darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge ;” or to descend to the figurative language of a seamstress, “ it is a knotless thread.”

To the Traveller I return my sincere thanks for his well meant support. When beset by mean dirty fellows, and assailed from all sides with filth, it wins no slight regard,—it begets no paltry debt of gratitude to be accosted and protected, by one possessing the manners and liberal spirit of a gentleman. I could even wish the Canadian public, for their own sakes, to contrast his style of writing with that of my opponents,—the correct diction of a scholar with language untutored and gross,—the gentle flow of a mild temper with the turbid streams of abuse,—the sentiments of a liberal mind with the base insinuations and low suspicions of blagardism. From such exercises, taste may begin to gain its distinguishing faculty : bye and bye it may assume authority,—give laws to the manners of the age ; and lay open the purer sources of mental enjoyment.

As I have attentively perused the strictures of the Traveller, and taken all in good part, he will in return, listen seriously to mine.—In my throws he will recognise the privilege of a critic, and in my warmth, the zeal of one defending a favourite cause. He will enter with me into abstraction, and exclaim, “ it is the cause, it is ‘ the cause, my soul !’”—Here’s at you then, my dear fellow Traveller, body and soul of you together.

The Traveller says that I have “ leaped when I should only have walked” : nonsense ! A Traveller ! and think to get through this heavy timbered country without leaping ! an absolute impossibility ! I have had to leap every yard in some places, and then run or gallop with utmost speed to gain safe quarters before night fall. This

is almost as good a joke as my friend Clark's solemn counsel to go by way of Sackets Harbor.

Too much enthusiasm for a Reformer ! This is another whimsey of our Traveller. What Reformer ever succeeded without enthusiasm ? It is the very *sine qua non* of the profession. Without a dash of it I might indeed *walk* ; yea, walk off the course in all the dejection of hopelessness, by way of Sackets Harbor. It was devotedness to the cause, in other words enthusiasm, which animated St. Paul. Enthusiasm is the pure and ardent spirit of goodness—the opposite of selfishness : it is, to use the language of the evangelical, the spirit of the Lord. It was this spirit which breathed in Knox, and completed to us, in Scotland, the work of reformation : it was this spirit, which maintained the cause of Penn, and won to the society of Friends, the privileges they now enjoy,—the privilege of living at peace in the midst of war—the privilege of “swearing not at all.” To the influence of this spirit we owe whatever is dear to peace and liberty,—whatever has been wrested from the grasp of arbitrary power—from the wide spreading dominion of human iniquity.

My friend, the Traveller, thinks that “every impartial observer” must acknowledge, that I have “been too precipitate in my measures,” and, giving me credit for “genius” he would deny me “judgment.” I’ll not put up with it. Strength of judgment I claim as my better part, and the Traveller may pick up what genius is to spare betwixt us, for amusement to himself as he *walks* along. I’ll hold fast by my judgment and enthusiasm : the one as my helm, the other as my sail ; and, I’ll leap for health, for the cause, if necessary, and for joy when it is triumphant.

It was very *precipitate* in me to be sure to plan out the Statistical account of Upper Canada, when I had six weeks leisure, sailing across the Atlantic—very *precipitate*, to make all the enquiry I could for three months before I ventured to disclose my scheme, even to my friends—very *precipitate*, to walk for weeks over the Genesee country, leaping no where unless when unavoidably obliged, in order to make up my mind upon some points connected with my scheme—very *precipitate* to cross over the Lake and stop a fortnight to please the people of York, as much as propriety would admit, before publishing my proposals,—very *precipitate* to travel a thousand miles dur-

ing the worst season of the year after my object,—very precipitate to correspond patiently for three months with the Executive Council, about a matter which might have been answered in three days,—very precipitate to send to York, a petition for presentation to Parliament, praying to be allowed to give evidence of facts which my duty obliged me to aver,—very precipitate to sit calmly here, replying to the Traveller, while I am refused a hearing as to these matters, and while the Traveller himself is “convinced my opportunities of obtaining information have perhaps exceeded those of any person now in the Province.” O, my dear fellow Traveller! only think how absurdly people will sometimes talk, who, at other times, are calm, reasonable, refining philosophers. Though other people may be “hesitating,” that is no reason why I should hesitate. The people of Canada shall have as much time to think of what I advise as they choose; but nevertheless it would be ridiculous in me, with my mind made up as it is, to hesitate in giving my advice, or to urge its adoption by fervent language.

My “knowledge of the character of the people of Canada” is not so little as the Traveller may imagine,—perhaps even greater than his own. I rather think he has not even *walked* much in their company. He seems to think that all the secrets of the character and conduct of the people of Canada may be opened up with his key of “false pride,” our good moralist forgetting that character and conduct require more keys to unlock them, by a hundred fold, than hang any one bunch at the apron string of any housewife in Niagara.

For the comfort and credit of the Province I hope before the Traveller has tried many locks with his favourite key, he will find it a false one. Pride is a stubborn thing to deal with. I would rather lock twenty other things, and in my transactions with the people of Canada, I have certainly found little locked up by their “false pride.” Indeed I rather think not a single door would ever have been locked against my enquiries, had it not been for my Reverend self-seeking Councillor at York, and he was actuated by a very different passion—a passion which has characterised power-up-listed priests, through all the ages of hierarchy, I mean intolerance; and I am a matter-of-fact man I shall relate a little story by way of illustration.

In October last, I rode from York northward by Yonge-Street.— At the distance of 8 miles my attention was attracted by a building of a singular appearance, but most resembling one of our English staddle barns, dropt from its pillars. Its measurement gave 17 paces by 9, and out of the roof shot a little stove chimney of brick.— A person standing near informed me that it was a Church, and one of the Church of England. I forthwith enquired who was the Clergyman: there was none, specially appointed for this place of worship; but Doctor Strachan, did duty in it once a month. What! said I, has this building been erected for so little benefit to the country! are there no Presbyterians, Methodists, nor Baptists who could occupy it the three vacant Sundays of the month? “The Doctor, “Sir,” replied my informant, “will let nobody preach here but “himself.”

This spirit of intolerance, the very opposite of that charity which the scriptures so powerfully inculcate, is that assuredly which locked me out from the Reverend Doctor’s good graces ever since I published my first address at York, without showing him the proof-sheet, or asking his aid. He had, I am told, some scheme of publishing an account of Upper Canada himself. My toe thus galled his kibe. I had unluckily stood up to *preach in his church*, and quickened the spirit of intolerance, which, when once alive, will kick sans intermission or end. It is much more inveterate and persecuting than false pride; but, thank God, all the Clergy Reserve of Canada will not be able to cherish it long on this side of the Atlantic.

My information that the little Rector of little York, would let nobody preach but himself, has often recalled to my mind a striking contrast of sentiment in one of the greatest characters that ever graced the church of England. One day that I had the honor to dine at the table of the late Bishop of Llandaff, in a large company I had the satisfaction to hear that celebrated Bishop declare, that “he was at all times willing to receive to his bosom, any man, “whatever sect, who would acknowledge Christ and a future state “of rewards and punishments.”

My fellow Traveller has allowed the stuff which has appeared in the public prints too much to influence his notions of the character of the people of Canada and their conduct towards me. He has

sufficiently weighed circumstances which affect these appearances. All over America, newspapers can be afforded at half the expense which attends them in Britain. The cheapness of printing, together with a less refined public taste, gives vent and encouragement to what never would appear in England. The American character, in general, has been lowered in the eyes of Europeans, much below its true level, from too great importance being attached to newspaper evidence; and what is more unfortunate, it really is injured, not a little, by constant exposure to the rank productions of a too exuberant press. Let any one enquire of an English newspaper Editor as to the rubbish which is sent him for publication and he will confess that floods of the most nauseous kinds are poured in upon him. Idle, malicious and vile characters are not wanting in England, but, there printing must be paid for by those who insist upon making appearance in the public eye, and the printer must be well paid indeed before he risks the good will of his customers by giving place in his paper to any thing disgraceful.

It is a fact, Mr. Editor, that my intention was to have had my first address printed in your newspaper before I went with it to York, but I was disgusted with your having inserted in the Spectator a very improper article, I mean that on the cause of Randal and Phelps. Your publishing such trash as that signed J. II. upon my business, was also, in my opinion, discreditable; and were such abomination as we have seen in Mr. Heron's Gleaner, to appear in an English newspaper, the Editor could not, upon his receipts from the public, afford ink sufficient to supply his press: the public would desert him to a man; and, he would be soon taught that "the better part of wisdom is discretion."

Such attacks upon me I regret because they are discreditable to the country, not from any injury I sustain from them; for Dr. Johnson's notion quoted by the Traveller as to *rebounds* being serviceable, is very true. The Traveller, tho' he has, so far, aptly applied this quotation, is however very much mistaken in thinking that such an address as my second one to the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada might be published once a week in England for months without causing "a single reply."

I have probably more experience in these matters than my friend. I have on various occasions published addresses in England

which have caused rebounds. I have been bitterly assailed on various occasions through the medium of Newspapers, Pamphlets, and Reviews ; but, I never wrote on a subject so pressingly important to the public as that of my second address to the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada. The Traveller, good naturedly, tells us, that he does "not pretend to give any opinion about the "matter," as he feels himself "unqualified to do so :" that he does "not feel attached to either side of the question," and again is "happy to say" that he is "too ignorant to form any opinion :" yet notwithstanding all this bashfulness he expresses opinions as if he was quite decided upon some points which require much experience and penetration, and upon others of high importance, where he is completely wrong.

Did circumstances exist in England of half the importance to the public as those which called forth my second address, we should soon hear of rebounds. The people of England would not allow the grand constitutional laws of the country to be wantonly set aside : they would not silently permit the rights of property to be trifled with, its value sunk, and its security lessened : they would not pass over such a speech from the throne as that lately delivered from the throne of Canada without censure : they would soon stigmatise the conduct of their Representatives, were they to provoke suffering claimants with adulations in reply to such a speech. But it is impossible for things to come to such a pass in England :—the people there may be oppressed by rogues ; but they never will endure to be insulted by fools.

The Traveller, in order that he may combat the "false pride" of the people of Canada, has most unaccountably taken it for granted that this, their ruling passion, was offended with my first address. "It tended," he says, "rather to provoke than to conciliate the "minds of the people ;" and he thinks "men of *liberal* minds forgot "that it was not very conciliatory." These notions must certainly proceed from a bee of my good friend's brain. I stopt several days at York, after this address was published there, and reckon them among the happy days of my life, for every person who conversed with me on the subject seemed pleased with my performance. Two months ago I publicly named the Administrator and Chief Justice as being at the head of these. I shall now give a few more names,

Mr. Grant Powell, Mr. (now, Judge) Boulton and three sons, the Messrs. Jarvises, Col. Cameron, Col. Wells, Captain Fitz Gibbons, with many others. Immediately after this address was in circulation, I set off on a journey to the west. The kind reception I met with from the people induced me to remain out double the time, and travel double the distance I had first proposed. I was entertained most hospitably by many individuals to whom this address was my sole introduction ; and many tavern keepers would accept from me no pay. Not a single complaint of the address did I hear from the mouth of a single Canadian during my journey of a thousand miles, nor had I the slightest idea of open war against the cause till I read the idle nonsense which appeared in the Niagara Spectator. This had no serious effect : the people laughed at it ; and would laugh again, I believe, were it set forth as any indication of their national character—any proof of their *false pride*. The notion that my first address “ tended rather to provoke than to conciliate “ the minds of the people,” is a prime sample of the ingenuity which a sentimental man can display. It puts us in mind of the fortification planned and executed by my Uncle Toby and Trim in order, that, during its assault, a systematic movement might be made in the covert ways of the widow Wadman. Is it not possible that my worthy friend the Traveller may at this very moment be be-labouring the “ false pride” of the people in order to soften the heart of some Canadian fair one ?

My first address, will, I am sure, stand the test of time, as a most unoffending production. Any little murmurs, save that from the Rector of York, which prevailed before the date of my second address, must entirely be ascribed to the declaration of my opinion as to the *veto* against the admission into Upper Canada of people, from the United States : but that expression of my opinion stirred up no serious enmity. It was after this was universally known, that all the meetings were held, and Township reports drawn up. The flame blazed out, only, upon my calling for, *enquiry into the state of the Province*. This call penetrated deeper than the seat of false pride : it reaches to the conscience,—it alarmed all who had lately been partakers of spoil, or, had yet views of aggrandisement from the reigning system of patronage and favouritism. The Traveller expresses surprise at “ the tumult excited,” and it would

have been surprising if such tumult had arisen merely from the irritation of false pride. My amiable friend was not aware of the corruption of the system, and of the true causes which made "the higher classes of the Inhabitants of Canada" destitute of "toleration and liberality." The system of patronage and favouritism has of course been most beneficial to the higher classes ; and, had my friend gone to York, gifted with a sense of seeing into the breasts of men, he would have perceived that the tumult increased, as he drew near to the fire which is consuming not only the property, but the morals and spirit of the Province.

The Traveller seems to think that the tumult has been too much for us ; and, almost doubting that there are "abuses to rectify," "fervently hopes that the *next* reformer may, in addition to my "talents and capacity, possess judgment and discretion." *My* heart does not so easily fail me. The tumult excited stiffens every nerve and redoubles the proofs of necessity for action. If the *higher* classes are against me, I shall recruit among my brother farmers, seven in eight of whom will support the cause of truth. If one year does not make little York surrender to us, then we'll batter it for two ; and should it still hold out, we have ammunition for a much longer siege. We shall raise the wind against it from Amherstburgh and Quebec—from Edinburgh, Dublin and London. It must be levelled to the very earth, and even its name forgotten in Toronto.

In speaking of my second address, the Traveller declines giving an opinion, because he is "quite unqualified to do so :" Now it would have cost him much less pains to have done this than what he has bestowed on his writing. The reasoning of my address is as clear as it is incontrovertible, and all I want is to be examined at the bar of Parliament regarding the assertions advanced. What understanding should be puzzled with this ? My friend deceives himself : he blinks the grand question and blinds himself with confused shadows : he is cumbered about many things and loses sight of the one thing needful,—his duty to assist me—his duty to petition for enquiry when I have made serious charges against the administration, and when he is "convinced that my opportunities of obtaining "information have perhaps exceeded those of any other person now "in the Province." Why should he or any one question for a moment whether my "declaration is eligible or necessary ?" I am

ready to be put to the proof, and when that is over it will be time to talk of "consequences." Till then all speculative reasoning on "the effects of political discussion" with which I am connected, are injurious to my cause, which is that of the country at large.

Even my friend's remarks of themselves tend to no good. They are made upon vague and even erroneous suppositions. Political discussions, have frequently before now, engaged the attention of the people of Canada, and the people have manifested very considerable susceptibility. So far from being regardless of the conduct of their Representatives, I knew a case this very winter, where the people were to meet expressly for the purpose of instructing their Representative as to the conduct he was to pursue in Assembly; and I have some hope, that before another session, there may be such meetings in all parts of the Province. The majority of voters here are as well qualified as the majority of voters in England to judge of the propriety of any proposed measure. They may not have so much general knowledge, but they are all *free* voters, which nine tenths at home are not; and the moment they come to hold meetings and lay down principles of action for their Representatives in Assembly, their influence over public measures will quickly and powerfully be developed. The people of Canada are thinly scattered and the spread of intelligence over the country is slow; but all this will be changing for the better, and when they become sensible, that, by riding twenty or thirty miles and communing with each other for a few hours, they may be able to controul the damning influences at York, they will grudge neither their time nor trouble.

The Traveller says, that "a man is seldom much interested in the political affairs of his country till they begin to affect him individually, and this does not happen unless the population is large, and society is organized and divided into classes." This is not very flattering to our species, making us appear selfish in the extreme. Happily it is not so true as it is plausible. Look across to the United States. The people there "enjoy much independence and suffer few national grievances and taxations," yet we find them all alive to questions of public interest, and we see the excellent effects resulting from this patriotic spirit,—we see every thing prospering in their lands. The Traveller talks of the "simplicity and disconnection" of society as rendering the purity of government of comparatively

"little importance." He is continually leading us astray from sound and useful practical conclusions, by mere theoretical jargon. I shall seize upon his words and drill them to better purpose. The disconnection of society in Canada, results from the state of property.—Every man is held at arms length from his neighbor by Reserves and the untaxed property of absentees. *Apparently* the taxation in the United States is greater than in Canada: in fact it is far less. The people there pay to government what is necessary for public welfare, and in time of peace this all returns with good interest to individuals by the advancement of national improvements. All property which receives benefit contributes a proportionate share of taxation. In Canada there is a lamentable odds. While *visible* taxation is light, the Resident Land Owners are toiling to encrease the value of other men's property, and the more they toil the heavier becomes the load of oppression—more hopeless becomes the chance of throwing it off. Suppose the present system was to endure till every acre was cleared and occupied. The reserves and absentee lands would then be of high value and readily yield rents. The rents would sustain a host of idle people, placemen and intolerant priests. The mere waste of the money would comparatively be a slight grievance to the people whose industry produced it: the evil influences, both moral and political, generated by such a system, are far more to be dreaded.—They would introduce into the country domineering wealth, and cringing poverty, proud looks and bowing sycophancy, tyrants and slaves.

Happily the causes which now disconnect society in Canada cannot possibly realize such consequences. Want of public spirit in the people, and want of energy or narrow views in the Government, may put off, year after year, the necessary changes in the constitution and administration of affairs. The reserves may be *reserved* to give trouble, to breed grumbling and grudging: they may be *reserved* to give away from time to time, as *favours* to such people as Major Leonard, and his *able* friend; but they will not for a century to come yield rents to realize the views for which they were most unthinkingly designed. Within a much shorter period, the people of Canada will see that the present system is incompatible with prosperity and they will change the system; or, Canada, weighed down with its imbecility and lumber, will fall beneath the dominion of the United States, and the present "disconnection" in society, will disappear for ever.

Now, let us take to task the Traveller's other word "simplicity." "In a newly peopled and thinly inhabited country," says he, "the form and purity of Government are comparatively of little importance, for society is then in such a state of *simplicity* and disconnection, that it is seldom necessary to enforce much subordination among its members." Our friend, here views government as a scourge, and seems to intimate, that simple people need little whipping. He has also discovered, that Canadians "feel no inclination to interfere with their Governors, so long as the latter do not interfere with them." This is all very simple to be sure. Governor Gore did not interfere with the simple Canadians! so the simple Canadians whipped themselves and gave him £3000. The Canadians were told to give in statements of their losses by war, to their Governors: a solemn investigation took place: documents were authenticated; and, the claims, thus proved to be just, were sent to England. The Ministers desired the Governors in Canada, to tell the Representatives of the Canadians, that the claimants should have the forfeited Estates, to make good their losses. The Governors knew that these Estates would pay little or nothing, but communicated the message as the *gracious* message of the Sovereign to the Representatives of the people. The Representatives also knew that the Estates would come to little or nothing, but humbly bowed and thanked the Governors in the name of the people, for the most gracious message. Certainly all this is the very essence of simplicity; but, whether in the end, it will tend to "subordination" is rather questionable. In the mean time, however, it cannot be doubted that the simple Canadians "feel no inclination to interfere," and the Traveller tells us, "they have good reason for this," for, says he, "the majority are not qualified to judge." The Traveller then again thinks "it is not difficult to discover why the Canadians are so indifferent," because, says he, "they enjoy so much independence, and naturally think their condition cannot be better."

What pure simplicity is that of Upper Canada! The Governors have not to enforce subordination: the people whip themselves—have a *good reason for this*, and *cannot be better*. Simplicity turns out a better fellow than Disconnection: he improves with drilling; and, it is well that we took him last in hand, as he leaves us in good humour.

The simplicity and disconnection of the Traveller's aphorisms and

reasoning are truly marvellous. They would afford endless scope for amusement ; but the reader must take his own time for making further discoveries.

Towards the close, the Traveller becomes more and more simple, and his nervous system is evidently affected. He has made " no " enquiries concerning the Government since he came to Canada," for he " detests politics." He not only declares his antipathy to a subject, upon which he has just before been very gravely lecturing, but takes a prospective view of what would happen, were he so unfortunate as to have influences over politics. In this case he would rant in the words of poor crazy Hamlet. How much better for a rational being to vary a few of these words, and exclaim,

The times are out of joint : O ! curs'd be I
If, born to set them right, I never try.

There would be some reason in this imprecation in that of Hamlet there is none. To be born to put right the times, is the highest destiny upon earth : to curse such fate is ungrateful and profane.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

P. S. As my fellow Traveller has, in his zeal to calm the tumult, much weakened my expectation of *rebounds*, so essential to the success even of the great Dr. Johnson's performances, I hope he will once more walk out before the public, and, to begin with, tell plainly, what part of the controversy has " not been very creditable" to me, or in what particular I have been " dull, dirty and disgusting." If it can be proved, I should also be glad to understand, wherein my " judgment and discretion" have been deficient. I wish my friend to stand on no ceremony so far as wit and sarcasm can go, were it only to prove to the tender consciences of the " higher classes" of Canada, how much we native Britons will bear for the public good we must, and shall

————— " nothing extenuate,
" Nor set down aught in malice."

R. G.

March 26, 1818.

To ROBERT GOURLAY, Esq.

Waterloo, March 17, 1818.

SIR,

In reading the Niagara Spectator of the 12th inst. I observe a paragraph addressed by you to his Honor the Administrator, relative to that poor distressed Indian woman, Angelique Pilotte, who was condemned at the last Assizes at Niagara. in which you speak of "her too-late appointed Counsellor" not appealing to the feelings of the Men of the Jury who were to decide her fate, and that no pardon had yet arrived from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent :—Now, Sir, having been one of the Jury which sat on that deplorable case, I feel it in some measure a duty to trouble you with some observations on it. In the first place, you will easily understand that none of the twelve of us, composing the Jury, were persons learned in the law, nor was the investigation of the case, nor the matter of law in it, made sufficiently clear to our satisfaction, but it was made evident that she had done what she was accused of, and in this manner were we sent to the Jury-Room, where according to our oath, we could say no other than Guilty, but earnestly recommended her to mercy because she was bred a Savage, and had no knowledge of the usages of Christians; and we thought then, and now think, her whole trial rested neither on the letter nor spirit of any British law; but be that as it may, this I am certain of, that if this be the way of preaching the benign principles of Christianity to the tribes of Indians, we might better let them alone in their Pagan state. In our minds we, in a great measure rested the blame on the persons in whose employ she was, for not procuring Counsel in good time for her; not that we thought of his melting our rude hearts; I do not believe we needed it, for one of our number, a man in comfortable circumstances, said he would rather have given up all his moveable property, than place her so improperly as we did: another of us, though not a person in affluent circumstances, offered then, and would do so now, that is, to go and lay her petition at the foot of the Throne, where justice in mercy, thank God, may be obtained, rather than the sentence should be

put in execution. I consider it in this light, that we were caught in a judicial snare, bound by oath to find the woman guilty of what we had no right to try her for, and we know ourselves to stand too low in the great world's estimation, to sport with the lives of our fellow Beings. On one consideration I am not unwilling her condition should be held up notorious to public view, for although the common propensities of all animal nature, and particularly the weeping eyes of humanity loudly forbid my saying it, I believe her horrible crime has been too often committed with impunity in this country, by persons who could not have pleaded a right to Indian custom. As you are in the habit of addressing the public copiously, I will take it as a mark of your kindness, if you will say a word or two in the next Spectator, to lighten the censure that may possibly be laid on us by the public, from what I have quoted of your's in the former part of this. If you should choose to publish this letter, and make strictures on it, be pleased to lay your heavy pestle on me as lightly as possible, for I never appeared in print, and you have my free good will to lay it upon their Honors, the Dr. &c. &c. &c. to your hearts content ; and I should not be sorry to see you make use of your powerful pulverizing instrument, on most of the Members of the House of Assembly. With my earnest prayers for your success in the great cause you are labouring in.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your ob't. hble. serv't.

JOHN APPLEGARTH.

To His Royal Highness, George, Prince Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

The humble Petition of Angeline Pilote,

SHEWETH,

THIAT, your Petitioner is a poor girl in her twentieth year, the natural daughter of a Squaw, and a native of the Indian Country near Michilimackinac.

That beyond the customs and maxims of her own nation, your Petitioner knows nothing of right or wrong : that, she has had no education whatever ; nor, the slightest instruction in the principles of christian religion.

That, nevertheless, about two years ago, from natural good qualities, she was taken into the service of a woman, herself the daughter of an Indian, and from whom she could learn nothing of the sentiments and manners of civilized life: that, in this service, she was carried into France, where she formed an unhappy connection with a British Officer, a friend of the family in which she was domesticated, and by him became pregnant.

That, her first mistress dying, she was sent back to her native country, last summer, and having strong recommendations in her favour, was immediately engaged as waiting woman, to Miss Elizabeth Hamilton, of Drummond's Island, a niece of her first mistress, with whom she forthwith went on board a vessel and sailed to Fort Erie, in Upper Canada.

That, during her voyage, which occupied three weeks, your Petitioner was taken in labour, and according to the notorious custom of Indian women, she brought forth her child in concealment:—that, the child being still-born, your Petitioner conceived, that it would, at once save the feelings of her mistress, and the exposure of her own condition, could she, by further concealment privately bury the body of her infant; and, with this intention she carefully wrapped it in a cloth and conveyed it on shore, unknown to any one. During the first night after landing, your Petitioner endeavoured to carry this design into execution, but from her ignorance of the place,—from darkness and terror, she failed in its accomplishment, and left the body exposed in the open field, where it was soon after found and gave rise to enquiry.

That, your Petitioner, being interrogated by her Mistress, as to her having any knowledge of the child, with little hesitation confessed that she was its parent, and was for the first time apprised that she had committed a crime in the eye of the English law.—That, after this she was hurried into the presence of Magistrates, and, in a state of extreme convulsion, replied to some *leading* questions, suggested by the suspicion of her examiners, which fastened on her the charge of murder, upon which she was committed and brought to trial.

That, such was the simplicity and ignorance of your Petitioner, that she made no application for the aid of counsel, to which the

constitution of England entitled her ; and none was afforded her, till after she stood before the court for trial.

That, the Counsel then appointed by the Judge being entirely ignorant of her peculiar case, had no means of contradicting the written deposition recorded by the Magistrates, as above mentioned, although the most satisfactory proof could have been had in contradiction. It could have been most readily shewn, that it is the invariable custom of Indian women to retire and bring forth their children, alone and in secret. It could have been proved, that your Petitioner, so far from having the unnatural desire of destroying her offspring, had carefully provided clothing for her expected child ; and testimony of the strongest kind could have been brought forward to corroborate her present assertion, that the birth did not take place on shore, a circumstance completely subversive of the written deposition, upon which alone she was found guilty.

Your Petitioner, thus helpless—thus unfortunate, could not possibly avert the dreadful sentence of the law ; but such was the feeling of the court, from the mere innocence of her appearance, that she was strongly recommended to mercy, both by the petty jury empaneled for her trial, as well as by the whole body of the grand jurymen present on the occasion ; and whose entreaties have gained for her a temporary respite.

Your Petitioner has been informed since her condemnation, that the Sovereign of Britain, her great Father, has the power of shewing mercy, even to the real perpetrators of crime ; and, that he delegates the exercise of this power, in some cases, to his Representatives in this Province : but, your Petitioner is also informed, that in her case, clemency can only be obtained by an application to the Sovereign himself.

Your Petitioner is in the prime of life : she is conscious of innocence : she is anxious to live, were it but to wipe away by her future good conduct, the stain so unjustly,—so cruelly cast upon her character, her name, and her nation. She has heard of the regard and affection of her Great Father to the poorest of his children ; and, far as the way may lay between ; high as may be the Throne of her Sovereign, she does not despair of mercy.

For which she most earnestly prays.

(Signed) ANGELIQUE PILOTTE.
her mark.

Witness, JOHN SYMINGTON.

Niagara, Upper Canada, Sept. 15th, 1817.

WE the whole Members of the Grand Jury, acting on the Assizes now holden at the above place and time, have perused the Petition of Angelique Pilotte. We are strongly inclined to give credit to its assertions, and so far as matters fell under our observation, we find the statement perfectly correct. We think the case singularly hard, and most anxiously hope that mercy will be extended to the unfortunate woman.

Signed,

W. Crooks foreman,	Isaac Swayze, M. P.
John Synington,	David Secord, M. P.
William J. Kerr, J. P.	A. Nelles, J. P.
John Clark,	Geo. Adams, J. P.
George Keefer, J. P.	John Ball, J. P.
Crowel Wilson, J. P.	Robert Grant, J. P.
Samuel Street, J. P.	John Usher,
J. Warren, J. P.	Robert Nelles, J. P.
Jas. Cummings, J. P.	Robert Hamilton,
Henry Nelles,	Wm. H. Merrit.

I, Thomas Clarke, Esquire, one of the Associate Judges on the trial, and we Magistrates and Principal Inhabitants of the District of Niagara, having perused the within petition, do assent to the matter therein stated, and strongly recommend the Petitioner to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent as a proper object of mercy.

Signed,

Thomas Clark, J. P.	George Young,
Jas. Crooks, J. P.	John Crooks,
A. Cameron,	J. B. Muirhead,
W. Claus, J. P.	W. D. Miller,
Wm. Dickson, J. P.	Wm. Micklejohn,
James Muirhead, J. P.	John Burns,
Robert Dickson,	John M'Ewin.
M. Morrison,	

We the Officers of that part of His Majesty's 70th Regiment stationed at Niagara, Upper Canada, deeply participating in the general feeling which has produced the respectable support given to the Petition of the unfortunate Angelique Pilotte sentenced to death—although it may be out of our line of duty to take any concern in ci-

vil affairs of this description, yet an opportunity offering itself and the propriety being suggested by the Petition being put into our hands, we could not acquit our consciences did we neglect to add to the above our humble, respectful, but earnest solicitations, that your Royal Highness will be pleased to extend your gracious mercy to the unfortunate, ignorant and unprepared Petitioner.

Signed,

Lewis Grant, Lt.Col. 70th & Col. G. A. Goldfrap, Lieut. 70th.

Thos. Evans, Maj. 70th & Lt.Col. Saml. White, 70th.

Thos. Huxley, Capt. 70th Regt. J. Farndon, Asst. Surgeon, 70th.

John Tredunick, Henry Vavaseur, Capt. R. Engrs.

James M'Kay, Lieut. 70th. J. Garret, Surgeon 70th.

Edward J. White, Lieut. 70th. Ogden Creighton, Lieut. 70th.



TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

Queenston, March 23, 1818.

SIR—The above letter and petition will speak for themselves, while a few remarks and reflections on the subject may perhaps be added with good effect.

My principal object for noticing the poor woman's situation in your paper of the 12th inst. was to draw *immediate* attention to it. Her period of respite was nearly expired ; and, without a fresh indulgence from the Head of the Government, it was the duty of the Sheriff to execute the sentence of law. It is hoped that the respite is already prolonged : if not, surely the production of these papers and the fervour of public opinion will stay an act, which would be at once reproachful to government and shocking to humanity.

It was no part of my design to censure individuals, although I indeed wished to stir up reflection. From the first dawn of suspicion till the condemnation of Angelique Pilotte, I was intimately acquainted with every circumstance.—During that period I was myself unwell, or I should have taken an active part in behalf of the poor woman ; but I had opportunities of witnessing the anxieties of Miss Hamilton, her mistress, as well as the extreme solicitude of Mr. Clark, to save her. A sort of fatality in every stage of the business, seemed to balk every effort and desire in her favor.

Since my publication on the subject, I have been told that lawyers of this country, have been ever-ruled by the judge, and prevented from pleading, an interdict which, to me, appears most extraordinary, although I have not only witnessed but *felt* the outstretching of arbitrary power from the judgment seat. It is the nature of man, to be assuming ; and judges will sometimes dictate when they should only listen. Lord Erskine, before he came to be Chancellor of England, and while he was yet young at the bar, was reprimanded by a Judge ; but, he was not to be over-ruled. "I know my duty," said he, raising his voice to an altitude befitting a mind too strong to be shaken, "I know my duty as well as your Lordship"—and made good his point.

When the fate of a human being is about to be determined, however strong the facts in evidence may be—however clear the path of judgment, surely some little pause—some feeling words are due to decency. We may not hope, yet still let fall a tear to misery.

The Counsel of Angelique Pilotte, needed not to beg for pity : he might have demanded justice. He stood before the Court, conscious of ignorance in the cause which he was appointed to plead. He saw his opponents come prepared to charge. Could he think for a moment that the match was fair ? Did the law of England decree that no one should be arraigned without counsel, and mean it only as mockery to distress and poverty ? certainly not. It is the spirit of every British law to be liberal and just : but what liberality—what justice was here ? The written evidence might have been forged : the confession might have been extorted : there might have been a flaw in the indictment : perhaps she who stood at the bar, could not be identified with the person accused :—a thousand circumstances might have attended the case, and not one of them could be known to the counsel. Assure as it is the right of every one to have counsel allowed by law, so it is equally sure that such counsel ought to be appointed in time, to enquire into circumstances. Without such opportunity a counsellor might revolt from the duty imposed : he might protest, as a man, against glaring injustice to a fellow creature : he might appeal to the true intention and spirit of the law ; he might rouse the very audience to rebellion against such indecency ; and snatch from a Court, thus polluted, a human Being, exposed to peril, by its regardless and unfeeling mandates.

On like grounds the jury might have acted and saved the wretch from condemnation. Mr. Applegraph conceives they "were bound by oath to find the woman guilty." I say, no. The extraordinary nature of the case might have justified them in refusing to give a verdict. There is a tacit condition attached to every oath. In all human compacts there is a reciprocation of duty to be performed.—If one party fails, obligation in the other is at an end. A court of justice has power, but that power ceases, if it commits gross irregularities, or fails in its duties. The King has power, but what says Paley, one of the soundest authorities that ever wrote? speaking of the oath of allegiance, he says, "It permits resistance to the King "when his ill behaviour or imbecility is such as to make resistance "beneficial to the community."

A "judicial snare" may be laid, but a jury need not be "caught." The memorable trial of William Penn gave the world a glorious proof of what may be effected by a determined Jury. A most wicked Executive, at that time, had influence and power in England.—William Penn was indicted for holding seditious discourse in Grace Church Street, London. The Judge tried, in every way, to coerce the Jury, and laid a *judicial snare*, but the men of the Jury would not be *caught*. The Judge tried to force them to declare the discourse of William Penn, to be seditious : they were conscious that it was otherwise ; and leaving all notice of sedition out of the verdict, they simply returned, "that he was guilty of speaking in Grace Church "Street." The Judge would not at first receive this verdict, and confined the jurymen to a room without victuals, in hope that starvation would make them yield to his will ; but, he was disappointed : they would not be starved out of their opinion : they held out to the last extremity, and would not, by any compulsion, injure an innocent man. Not only was William Penn set at liberty ; but a triumph was gained over arbitrary power, which probably did more for the cause of freedom, than all the bloody battles that ever were fought.

The worthy Juryman who addresses me above, seems to attach credit to an opinion which I know very generally prevails : viz. that Indians are not amenable to British law. This opinion should be given up. Every foreigner, when he comes within the precincts of British jurisdiction, enjoys its protection, and must yield to its awards. The Indians in their own country may appeal to customs of their

own : here, they must yield to the reigning authority ; and it is a disgrace to those intrusted with this authority, that Indians should have murdered among themselves, and been murdered by others, in this Province, not only with *impunity* but even *without investigation*.

There is a consideration springing out of the case before us, to which I would particularly wish to draw public attention : I mean the difference to the Subject in the benefit from the Sovereign's clemency, in Canada, and Britain. In the latter, an act of clemency speedily takes effect,—a few days terminate the awful suspense of the wretch who pleads for mercy : here, there must be a wearisome prolongation of tortured feeling ; probably in every case, more intolerable than death. No petition can be answered from Britain in less than three months : that of Angelique Pilote has no reply after more than six. Had official duties been alertly performed, the prisoner might have been set free long ago. Both I and others had our private letters answered within little more than four months of the same period, proving that wind and weather were propitious ; and as Mr. Clark took the trouble to have three different copies of the petition sent to the Administrator to be forwarded by distinct conveyances to England, the chance of accidents cannot be admitted. In London, there is an office always open for the reception of petitions to the Throne, that persons, who cannot wait or have a chance of presenting to the Prince himself, personally, at the Levee, may be accommodated in the exercise of their constitutional right. In the present instance the slightest attention to forward the views of the Petitioner might have obtained notice in the Royal ear ; and, whoever reads the petition and looks at the respectable names attached to it, will decide in a moment that *somewhere* there has been neglect. No one can doubt for a moment but that the Petition would no sooner be read to the Prince, than he would grant its prayers.

The carelessness of men in office, and the callousness of feeling, towards the unfortunate, is no new occurrence. Dozens of people have lain in the jails of London for years, waiting the performance of official duties ; and some have pined out a whole life time, neglected and forgotten, after being committed to durance for some contempt of the court of chancery, which they never understood, and far less suspected to be crime.

My opinion is, that, were the people of Canada to join in petitioning the Prince and Parliament of England, to alter the constitutional act, which retains to the Sovereign the right of pardon in cases of murder and treason, committed in these Provinces, that this right would be readily given up as a worthy addition to the trust and dignity of their Governors.

This idea struck me, when writing the petition of Angelique Pilotte ; and I had a copy secured for the express purpose of forming a ground upon which to gain public notice, and argue the propriety of the measure, in England. I now leave it to be seriously considered by the people here ; and assure them, that as soon as they can come alive to genuine public feeling and spirit, so as to establish a frank and manly correspondence with their fellow subjects, and the government at home, a new æra will commence in the history of Canada ;—objects will be obtained big with the noblest consequences, both to the Provinces and mother country—consequences, worthy of the British name, and dear to the cause of humanity.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR..

SIR,

IN your last Spectator, you published a letter from Mr. Gourlay, containing strictures upon that which I addressed to you in the preceding paper. After travelling over nearly six columns, my attention was arrested by a postscript, in which Mr. Gourlay, seemingly afraid lest his criticisms should intimidate me from making my usual public appearance, politely invites me “to walk out” again. He would perceive that my usual walk commenced immediately after he had finished his extensive ramble, in the course of which, he dilates upon enthusiasm, judgment, precipitation, false pride, intolerance, newspapers, clergy reserves, his addresses, simplicity of society, and political influence, and lastly, becomes a versifier, and after disencumbering his mind of all this ferrago, to complete the joke he accuses *me* of “disconnection.” I seldom embrace more than one subject in the course of my walks, and I have of late found considerable difficulty in pursuing them, for Mr. Gourlay has gen-

erally thrown an impediment of four or five heavy *columns* in my way. In the last Spectator, he brought this large, and powerful force in operation against my two. Though my brain is not prolific enough to enable me to out-flank him, I am not discouraged, for I have rallied, and now commence another attack. And why not? for the man who talks of spending two or three years, in the battering, and reduction of such a defencsless place as York—a place the props of which he has already undermined, and set fire to—must owe his scruples to “genius rather than judgement.”

I have been a great Traveller, and therefore know how disagreeable it is to ride a stumbling horse. Now Mr. Gourlay cannot conceive in what an uncomfortable, and uneasy manner, I made my way through his letter, for he is continually tripping upon a certain expression of mine, which a man of his agility ought to have leaped over at once. I shall not attempt to make remarks upon one half what he says, for it would occupy so much room in your paper, Mr. Editor, that you would be inclined to tell me, that “printing must be paid for by those who insist upon making appearance in the public eye.” Mr. Gourlay calls my letter a “knotless thread,” and seemingly anxious that it should remain so, he proceeds to quibble upon words, and entangles the thread so much, that he evidently loses both ends of it, and seems to forget what is meant by either of us. If I regard his knots at all, I shall treat them in the same way as a certain hero treated the Gordion knot—by cutting them up.

Among other things, Mr. Gourlay tells me, that there is a bee in my brain, and perhaps it is the confusion of ideas produced by the humming of this little insect, that creates so much disconnection in my aphorisms. But if a bee occasions so much disturbance, how great must be the perturbation of Mr. Gourlay’s brain, for there is evidently an “intolerant priest” in it, who “kicks sans intermission.” My readers may probably have heard of Dr. Spurzheim’s physiognomical system, which proves that the brain is divided into different compartments, and that each of these is the seat of a single, and particular propensity, such as enthusiasm, judgment, false pride, &c. and that when any one compartment is excited, the individual’s ideas, come under the influence of the propensity of which it is the seat. Now, the kicks of the priest have undoubtedly excited Mr. Gourlay’s different compartments by turns.

He first touched that of enthusiasm with his toe, but before Mr. Gourlay had half finished what he had to say upon the subject, this disturber of his brain, began with his other foot, to belabour the organ of judgement. The priest at last being irritated by Mr. Gourlay's censures, (as he well might) probably begun to use both hands and feet, and thus by violently forcing the compartments together, and into one another, he produced the sad confusion of ideas apparent in the conclusion of his persecutor's letter.

"This to be sure is imagination ; but here is reality on my side." There is so much disconnection in Mr. Gourlay's letter, and so much abruptness in his mode of treating the different subjects which it embraces, that no one can doubt, but that he has been under the influence of some cause scarcely less powerful than the one I have mentioned. It is amusing to observe how Mr. Gourlay's brain is haunted by the individuals who have opposed him. He takes every opportunity of "belabouring" Dr. Strachan, and seems anxious to prove his intolerance, by submitting him to the test of persecution. In the course of his letter, Mr. Gourlay, as usual, pays his devoirs to Major Leonard, and his *able* friend, and seems to grudge them the reserves he thinks they have the prospect of obtaining. He even makes a circuit by Sacket's Harbor, that he may get a hit at Mr. Clark, and have an opportunity of rubbing his face with a little more snow.

Some of the concluding paragraphs afford an excellent specimen of Mr. Gourlay's ingenuity in perverting words and sentences. He conceals this unfair, though specious practice, under the title of *drilling*. That he has an object in doing this cannot be doubted.— He reviews a production, that he may raise a conscription of words from it, which he uses as recruits, and *drills* into service, that they may aid him in the battering of little York. After all this *drilling* he collects together the forces acquired by it, which are the following : "The Governor's have not to enforce subordination—the people whip themselves—have a good reason for this and cannot be better." Bravo ! this is as rational, and intelligible, as some of the political prophecies uttered by the celebrated Joanna Southcoat. After stumbling along for some time, Mr. Gourlay unfortunately meets with a couplet from Shakespeare, which brings him to the ground. He ought to recollect that it requires some genius,

to be a poet. But he disavows this quality, and in his attempt oses also his claim to judgement, for had he much of the latter he would not have altered Shakespeare. His verses resemble what a certain author calls "prose gone mad," and we may fairly conclude, that if the seat of a poetic propensity ever existed in Mr. Gourlay's brain it must have been kicked to atoms, before he began to meddle with the words of "poor crazy Hamlet."

But I shall now return to the postscript, in which Mr. Gourlay invites me "to walk out again," and observes, that I have much weakened his expectation of rebounds, which he evidently thinks are essential to the success of his performances, for after the appearance of his first address, he began the war, by publishing a reply to an antagonist who had never publicly attacked him. He bids me be on no ceremony as far "as wit and sarcasm can go," thus wishing to be assailed by the weapons he is most expert in using, and desirous of having it in his power, to roll back upon his opponents, the stones which they themselves aim at him. I shall now tell him in what respect I think "he wants judgement and discretion." He has of late addressed himself solely to individuals, and as by his personalities in some degree alienated the public mind from his great object. Many people almost forget what he is aiming at, so anxious are they to read his satirical effusions, and hear their friends ridiculed.—Mr. Gourlay surely will not much advance his cause by merely amusing the people. His late productions have not tended to impress any conviction upon the public mind, except the conviction, that he is severe, witty, and clever. Mark the general turn of conversation at present! "Have you seen the Spectator yet?" says one, "yes," replies another—"and who does Mr. Gourlay attack now?" "He is very severe upon such & such"—"well it is too bad, but one cannot help being amused, and will he answer it?" "Oh no! he knows better than to expose himself again—Mr. Gourlay has got the whip hand of us all—let us avoid the lash." His readers thus "blink the grand question, forgetting that it is their duty to petition" and are satisfied if they enjoy a laugh. They are so entertained with the comedy, that they forget the theatre is on fire. I have already expressed myself concerned of the purity of Mr. Gourlay's motives, and I shall continue the same opinion, but is it not possible, that he may be unconsciously excited to make such attacks, by those very "fascinations,

of personal feeling," which he entreats others to avoid, and tear themselves from. Mr. Gourlay, likewise expresses a wish to know in what respect he has been "dull, dirty, and disgusting." I hope he will be aware, that I did not apply this quotation to any sentiment, or expression of his, but merely to the whole dispute, which, in my opinion, is verging too much towards abuse.

But I shall now take leave of Mr. Gourlay, lest I am made more "nervous," by the increase of "tumult" I anticipate from the "rebound;" though I must confess, that the worst nervous system I have yet experienced, was a severe head-ache, caused by reading one of his longest productions. I shall continue my journeys as usual, and hereby warn Mr. Gourlay against stopping a Traveller. If he repeats the offence, I shall assuredly obtain a warrant for his apprehension, from some of the *Magistrates of the Township of Niagara*; and after committing him, they will perhaps be able to reply to his 31st query, by stating, whether or not his imprisonment "retards the improvement of the Province," and if his enlargement "would contribute to the same."

I am &c.

THE TRAVELLER.

The following extracts from the London Courier, Quebec Gazette and Montreal Herald, all regarding the policy of Britain to her North American Colonies, will, we are persuaded, engage the most serious consideration of our readers.

The London Courier of the 20th of December says, "Government will no longer give encouragement to persons who wish to proceed as settlers to His Majesty's dominions in North America except to half-pay officers, or persons under peculiar circumstances; as many who went there the last two years were unable to cultivate the land allotted to them, and who are now in very great distress."

From the Quebec Gazette.

The following extract from Bell's Weekly Messenger, a paper of very extensive circulation published in London, appeared in s

veral papers in this province. I subjoin an extract from the *Edinburgh Review* of August last, a Literary Journal of the greatest merit and most extensive circulation in Great Britain, as a suitable accompaniment.

Extract from Bell's London Messenger.

Our relations with America have become so important or, at least in a progress of becoming so, that we shall defer our consideration of them to an opportunity when we can discuss them by themselves.— Mr. Monroe is a man of great talent and activity, and his movements are not without an object. We think the point of difference will be, the affairs of Spanish independence. We conceive that we feel as strongly as any one, for the true glory of this country ; but it always has been our opinion, and we know it personally to be that of one of the greatest statesmen this country ever produced, that Halifax, Canada, &c. are not worth what they would eventually cost England ; and the true point of wisdom would be to make the best bargain we could for them to the United States. Go they must ; and it is better to let them go, before another debt of eight hundred millions be added to this country.



From the Edinburgh Review of August, 1817.

"When discoursing, in 1778, of the terms on which England should make peace with the Colonies, he [Franklin] recommends at once giving up Canada, not merely as a measure of conciliation but as the best means of removing a bone of contention, and a fertile cause of future wars. Unpopular as the suggestion may now appear, we suspect many years will not elapse before we see reason to wish that this course had been pursued. Already we have sacrificed largely to Canadian interests, by commercial losses in other quarters ; we shall in all likelihood, sustain a long contest for that unprofitable colony, and end by losing it, after adding many a million to our debt in attempting to keep it. The experience of the American war will prove to have been thrown away upon us ; and we shall lose the opportunity of honourably terminating the political connection between the colony and the mother country, and substituting for it one of mutual commercial advantage, until our pride gets up ; and being attacked, we feel it impossible, with honor, to yield before we are beaten."

The politics of the Messenger are sometimes one thing, sometimes another, but, generally leaning to the side of power. The Edinburgh Review is decidedly in the opposition. In its political articles, a party bias is frequently discernable. With respect to America, it often shews a want of information which could hardly be expected in a work of such acknowledged merit. Its articles relating to this country have been unpardonably incorrect.

That two British publications like the Messenger and Review, should agree in the doctrine, that the British possessions in North America should be given up to the United States, is unaccountable. Is the state of the public mind in Great Britain, prepared to receive such a proposition? Are the high minded people of England prepared to retrograde in the path of power and Empire? Then " farewell, a " long farewell to all their greatness." In the language of their favourite bard, they may cut off " the Lion's hide and hang a Calf's " skin on their recreant limbs." Their wealth will not long survive their power. It will only augment for their subjugation.

England has many brave and loyal subjects in her American provinces, who pride themselves in being British subjects, and glory in their connection with the country of their forefathers; men, who envy neither the boasted liberties of the American Union, nor the frothy honors of its rising reputation.—To be handed over to the United States, like so many Russian cerfs or German boors, is an insult for which they were not prepared, so soon after lavishing their property and exposing their persons in the cause of Britain against these very U. S. Was it to heighten the price at which they were to be sold, that they were called upon to meet the enemies of England in battle? No; the proposition of the Messenger and the Edinburgh Review can have few partisans among the people of England. They have their origin in the brain of some miserable stockholder, trembling for the loss of his ill-gotten wealth, from an increase of the national debt; or they are the offspring of a mind adulterated by a factious opposition to Government to the extent of loosing sight of the honor of the fairest, and most powerful empire in the world.

But leaving every other topic out of the question; let us see what would be the political consequences to Great Britain of handing over the North American Colonies to the United States. Wounded feelings are never healed; a loyal population, basely delivered up to

those they had so recently met in the field, would ever after be the bitterest enemies of Britain. She boasts, and justly boasts, of a navy ; but could she think of protecting with her navy, her Newfoundland fisheries, if the St. Lawrence and the coasts of Nova-Scotia, were the safe resorts of American Privateers ? With the main land she must abandon the Island ; with the Island, the coasts and the banks. She must abandon one of the best nurseries for her seamen, an extensive employment for her shipping, she must abandon the essential supply of fish for the West-India Islands. With the whole coast of America, from Davis's Straights, (I beg pardon, the Messenger and Review, perhaps intend to keep possession of Hudson's Bay,) with the whole coast then from Labrador to the Gulph of Mexico, in the possession of an enemy, she might as well abandon at once, the West-India Islands and the whole trade to Terra Firma, north of Cape-Roque. Perhaps the eloquent writers of the Edinburgh Review, will be able to persuade Russia to suffer her to trade to the Baltic. France and Holland will not annoy her coasts ; and Spain, Italy and Turkey, particularly after Russia gets a free passage through the Dardanelles may allow her to go to the Mediterranean. As to the trade to India, America will be able to look to that, once that she has possession of the West-India Islands.

But go they must, says the magnanimous writer of the Messenger : let us make the best bargain. Go it must then, your national honor, your national security. Make the best bargain with your conquerors, with a world that envies and hates you, and take good securities.

A. B.

From the Montreal Herald, of February 28.

The public will remember that in October last, Mr. Robert Gourlay, a gentleman lately from England, and a relation of the late Hon. Robert Hamilton, of Queenston, Upper Canada, addressed a circular letter to the Resident Land Holders in Upper Canada, requiring such information from them as would enable him to compile a compendious Statistical account of the Province, that its intrinsic value might be better known to the Government at home, and to the public at large ; for which purpose a copy of the said address was forwarded to the Earl of Bathurst. But from recent intelligence there is reason for believing that Mr. Gourlay's plan will not be counte-

nanced by his Majesty's ministers, although it would in our opinion be difficult to assign just motives for such conduct. We have noticed in the Upper Canada Journals, several communications decidedly hostile to that gentleman's designs; and were sorry to observe they were dictated more by personal hostility and the rancour of party spirit, than by the force of sound reason. Mr. Gourlay was told, that being a stranger he was unfit for the task, and it was indecorous in him to meddle with public affairs in the face of so many superiors; but the truth seems to be, he was found possessed of superior talents, and that was enough to get him enemies. In the midst of newspaper contention, it should be noticed that Mr. G's. friends were also lavish enough of personal invective; but to dwell on this unprofitable topic is foreign to our purpose, and should never have been coupled with a subject so important in its nature. The plan of Mr. Gourlay was exceedingly laudable, as far as relates to an impartial description of the Province, and to the encouragement of British subjects to settle in a country so inviting to the capitalist, the industrious farmer and the mechanic. The Government at home have been unpardonably ignorant of the value of the Canadas, and if the Provincial Governments have hitherto been backward in giving salutary advice to his Majesty's ministers respecting the actual state of things, is this a reason why individuals should be reproached for devoting their time and talents, in disseminating important truths to our rulers in particular and our fellow subjects in general? Much has been said for a year past in the Upper Province, respecting who should or who should not be allowed to settle in the Canadas, on taking the oath of allegiance, and otherwise conforming to the acts of the British Parliament, passed in the 13th George II. and 30th George III. The first provides for foreign protestants settling in the British colonies, and the second freely admits the citizens of the United States into these Provinces. Now these acts still remain in force, and the Americans have not (so far as we can learn) been admitted to settle as formerly, since the late peace with the United States, which has given great offence to their advocates and it would appear with some reason; for the question is, can a Governor, or person administering the Government, suspend for a moment a solemn act of the Legislature in a time of profound peace? Without discussing the merits of this important question, we shall content ourselves with observing, that after the peace of 1783, the

chief British Colonies became independent states, and that the act of 13th Geo. II. however laudable it may have been, when made, could not be applicable after the loss of the 13 Colonies. After that great event the act ought to have been repealed or amended ; for it might have been foreseen, that those new and independent states would sooner or later be a source of uneasiness to the remaining Colonies. But instead of adopting any measure of precaution, seven years after an act was passed, inviting old offenders into the bosom of the community, and all that has occurred since, has been looked at with singular indifference by the Legislature of the mother country. After the peace of Ghent, all the old acts relating to the settling of the British Colonies, should have been repealed and new ones substituted, better calculated for their common security ; at the same time giving full power to the Colonial Legislatures to regulate the inland trade with the United States ; to improve the internal condition of their respective Provinces, and to give such assistance to new settlers from the mother country, as might be deemed salutary.

With such power in our own hands, and moderate duties laid on our commodities, when landed in Britain, we think the North American Colonies can be rendered populous and flourishing, without the indiscriminate introduction of American settlers. Such has been our opinion for many years, and so it will continue, until we see some strong reason for its taking a different direction. But at the same time, believing that a law exists inviting the Americans to settle among us upon certain conditions, we should enter our protest against the Government that would suspend it for an instant. If we have Statutes and Ordinances, let them be strictly acted upon, and if we have a Constitution, let us enjoy it according to its true interpretation, let not a mockery be made of so true and sacred a deposit.

April 2, 1818.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

Niagara, 27th March, 1818.

SIR,
THE Traveller, I observe, has realized my hope by walking

out, once again, before the public, to shew off his genius, in "wit and sarcasm,"—to tell, in what particular I have been "dull, dirty and disgusting," and to prove, "wherein my *judgment and discretion* have been deficient."

His genius must first be got rid of; and, for ever. A mere repetition of words will not do; and, Dr. Spurzheim's system is altogether out of place in Upper Canada. I aim at substantial objects: my fellow Traveller can think of nothing but amusement; and, in this he fails; for, any little titter excited by his wit, is rather an hysterical affection of thoughtlessness, than the pleasing corruscation of an enlightened mind. Amusement, for its own sake, has never been my object; and, where I have given place to humour, it has been for the express purpose of taking the edge from that keenness, which, in discussing political topics, too frequently cuts into the angry passions, and closes up, with an overflow of spleen, the orifices of reason. Reading even the dullest composition gives me no "headache;" and, that I can sustain the attacks of wit and sarcasm with unruffled temper, I trust, is now sufficiently proved. I shall therefore, dismiss the genius of the Traveller, with feelings equally quiescent, as those of my uncle Toby, when he emancipated the fly, caught in his hand, after it had long buzzed about his ears, while inclined to repose.—In his words, I shall say: "go poor devil, there is room enough in "this world both for thee and for me."

The Traveller's apology as to the words "dull, dirty and disgusting" is quite satisfactory, as he says they were not applied to any sentiment or expression of mine. He places these pretty words to the debit of the "dispute;" and as, of late, he has been the solitary agitator, they must be made over to his own personal account.—The dispute is indeed "verging too much towards abuse," when truth and common sense are so tortured as in this last production of the Traveller.

Were extravagance of fancy my sole object, I should soon outmatch my fellow Traveller. His indulgence in this kind of humour, costs his protégé, Dr. Strachan, rather too dear. I never made the Doctor so little as to find room for his kicking in one of the compartments of my brain; but if His Littleness would repent and sin no more, I should be truly indulgent, and yet make a man of him. Out of the brain of Jupiter sprung Minerva: how proud should I be

to see my brain-child a match for the Goddess of wisdom!—There is an equipment for unfortunate manunculi, which has probably not yet been heard of in Upper Canada. A poor baby came into this world, and into that part of it called Scotland, three months before his time, and was kept alive by being suited with a pair of *beef-steak breeches*. The repentant Doctor shall have from me, not only breeches of beef, but a surtout of veal, and moccasins of mutton.

The Traveller speaks of my notice of him as an “offence,” and *warns* me not to *stop* him again. Honest man! when did I stop him?—hoping no *offence* for asking the question. I was resting on my arms here in Niagara, as quietly inclined as possible, after having honorably disengaged myself from the “attacks” of Major Leonard and his *able* friend: when lo! who should *attack* me next but my fellow Traveller? I can account for it in no way but this, that the Traveller’s ambition has been roused by the “*turn of conversation.*” “Have you seen the Spectator yet,” says one, “yes,” replies another, “and who will attack Mr. Gourlay now? will the “Major rally?” “Oh no, he knows better than to expose himself “again.”—“Well, it is too bad! that a Farmer should get *the whip hand of us all.* You, Mr. Traveller, are a Scholar: we know that “you can write, though the Major is a sorry scribe: it has been “long said, that arms must yield to learning, but, who ever heard “of arms and the gown too, yielding to a rustic?—surely you Mr. “Traveller, will be able to *lash* him.” The love of conquest, thus vivified by flattery, could not be resisted: our worthy Traveller must needs take the field of glory, and forgets his duty to petition.

“ Sad was the hour and luckless was the day,”
When first our simple Traveller went astray;
Ah! luckless thought that urged him to the fight,
Ah! false ambition, never ending right.

The most serious charge against me, made by the Traveller, comes next to be considered,—the charge of my wanting “judgment and “discretion.” He asserts that I have “alienated the public mind “from my great object,” and seems to ascribe this to my having addressed myself of late to *individuals*, and to my having had recourse to *personalities*. Now, I am not to rebut this charge, eyeing the Traveller’s assertion and reasoning, as in the least degree worthy of notice in substantiating it; for the former is notoriously incorrect,

and the latter silly in the extreme. In duty to the great public cause, I must here be particular. So far from having “ alienated the public mind from my great object” by my writings, it is notorious that they have tended to conviction of the most beneficial kind ; the people have been considerably roused ; and whether through my influence or not,—whether the business will be completed or not, it is now certain, that *enquiry into the state of the Province*, has been moved, and carried in Parliament.

The Traveller addresses himself to an *individual*, viz. the Editor of the Spectator, and so do I ; but the difference is, that while no *personality* can touch him, writing under cover of a feigned signature, he is *personal* towards me,—using my real name, depreciating my efforts for the public good, bothering serious reflection with mere non-sense, and, endeavouring to throw into ridicule, the most important duty incumbent on the people of this Province, at the present moment,—that of pressing, by petitions, the question now before Parliament, to a worthy conclusion,—pressing not only for enquiry, but for a commission to go home with the result, and for the publication of every thing in England.

My addressing individuals, and being personal, can in no degree make people “ forget” what I am aiming at. Were I to bawl in the Traveller’s ear the whole day long, or supplicate on my knees, that he should take up a pen and write out a petition, I doubt much if I could succeed. To account for this, I have no need to apply my fingers to the protuberances and depressions of the Traveller’s skull, after the manner of Dr. Spurzheim, but I may turn up the ‘ Scriptures where every variety of human character is exhibited in colours which never fade, and are invariably true to nature. The *perver-*
se-
ness of mankind was the same two thousand years ago, that it is now ; and it is not by changing the formation of skulls, but by the amelioration of hearts, that we may hope for improvement. What could so well exhibit to us the cold indifference which runs through society, to all pure regard for kindly affections, as the parable which represents a man making a feast—inviting all around him to partake. But finding not a single one willing to sit down with him, because each was occupied with some selfish object—one going after his merchandize, another to his farm? The Traveller is not willing to listen to my invitation : he shuts his eyes against conviction : he

"quibbles"—he "perverts"—he is "unfair"—he "conceals" the truth, all to avoid acceptance of my very sincere and kind invitation to join me in petitioning.

The Traveller, in his former production, made marvel of the want of toleration and liberality among the "higher ranks," and I pointed to their nearer connection with patronage and favouritism, but, independent of this, we know that *perversity* and all the evil passions, grow with the growth, and strengthen with the strength of wealth and power, till it is almost as impossible, for those possessing them, to get to Heaven, as it is for a camel to pass through a needle's eye. In England there is much boast of benevolence, and every one deplores the woful consequences of the poor laws. I, who had demonstrated, to the British Government 17 years ago, a principle which, modified, would actually have effected a cure,—I, who never lost sight of this principle, began at last, after making up my mind as to its modifications, to press its adoption by petitioning the Legislature. I first made known my intentions directly by communications, addressed in my own hand writing to every English Peer, and every Member of the House of Commons. I calmly continued to correspond with some of them, was in no hurry, but pressed my object for years. I had no secret with any one,—no connection with party; but, did all publicly, in my right as a British subject, and in duty to the dictates of my own heart. I asked for no one's applause, and as little regarded censure. My knowledge of human nature assured me that no dependance whatever could be placed in the higher ranks, and this was verified by experience: nay it was only "by much entreaty" that the poor themselves were advised to move in their own cause: to use the language of Scripture, I had to "compel them to come in." They at last saw the truth clearly: hundreds voluntarily came in; and on my leaving England they were, over a pretty wide extent of country, following my advice; and, when they have extended their efforts sufficiently, they will make good their point in peace and quietness,....but, let me return from digression.

The charge of personality, if it carries along with it a conviction of wanton exposure of character and conduct,—a conviction of such exposure being merely to gratify a malicious disposition, is indeed a serious one; but what personality, that I have had recourse to, can

justify such a charge against me ? I deny that personality, of itself, is in the least degree inadmissible. Many points cannot possibly be carried without its aid ; and in many cases, the free use of it is not only a duty, but one of those duties which should win the highest applause in its manful performances ; for he that wields the weapon of personality must have many enemies.

The Traveller, by his way of speaking of my addressing individuals and having recourse to personalities, would make believe that I have been culpable towards many persons, but Dr. Strachan is evidently the one, who calls for his particular sympathies. I am his "persecutor," I "submit him to the test of persecution," and it is clearly Dr. Strachan, who is meant when he says that I "*began the war by publishing a reply to ONE who never publicly attacked*" me. Now, though I am sorry to use the expression, even to him who has applied to me the words "quibbles," "perverts," "unfair," and "conceal," I must say that this is a scandalous misrepresentation. So far from declaring war after my first address, I relinquished the concern for the public good, that no personal dislike to me should injure it. Two months afterwards, finding that the letter I had sent for insertion in the newspapers, had been altered in the printing, from my manuscript, I had occasion to publish a second letter of explanation, and for the first time named Dr. Strachan. I then publicly offered to give up authorities, in case he thought himself injured by the report of his having found fault with my proceedings, and said, that "it was presumption in me, a stranger, to come forward as I had done." From the date of that publication, six weeks more passed by before his name was mentioned second time by me in public ; and for three months before, while had yet never shewn myself as a combatant, war was waged against me, and the public prints were filled with all sorts of trash, assailing me personally, aspersing my character, and endeavouring to fo the proposals of my first address. These were open doings ; but, was well informed of many secret influences which were working under ground, and it was quite notorious, that Dr. Strachan was a busy agitator. He was a man who had in his publications, set at defiance, not only public feeling, but private right : he had not confined his attacks to the conduct of British subjects : he had not only attacked Lord Selkirk, but had ventured in his audacity to ass even the President of the United States. These acts made him

fair subject for censure: these acts made it the duty of every man who passed him by the way, to hold up his finger and say aloud, there goes the arrogant priest who would stain his cloth,—set at naught the commands of his Great Master, and, puffed up with vanity, leave the altar for worldly lusts and filthy desires. No *private* admonition could put down the spirit of such a man. He sent a copy of his printed letter on the business of Lord Selkirk, to the Bishop of Canada. The Bishop sent it back unopened, which was a severe private reproof; but, the Bishop did not go to the extent of his duty. He should publicly have admonished him, and ordered him to make apology to the man he had injured, before the public whom he had insulted. Such discipline would have sustained the reputation of the Church of England,—done honor to the Bishop, and saved the Rector of York from after misconduct.

Not only was it my duty, and had I a right to attack Dr. Strachan, as a mere spectator of his public conduct; but before I did attack him he had by his silence, acknowledged the truth reported openly in the steam boat, and published in the newspapers, of his having accused me of “*presumption*:” he was one of a corps who had disregarded common civility,—who had neglected public duty, and done infinite mischief to the Province. What miserable weakness is it, to think, that after all this I must say nothing against such a character, merely because he never attacked me *in print*? I must wait, forsooth, and be attacked by the Traveller, and all sorts of blockheads, who cannot write without losing their wits in phrenzy:—I must wait till this little fellow Strachan, is stuffed into one of the compartments of my brain, to kick and sprawl, till his Reverence is delivered by a man-midwife, and then pled for as a persecuted thing—a piteous “*antagonist*,” a miserable, misbegotten manunculus, to whom nothing but the milk of human kindness should be administered.

Within the last fortnight, a most curious document has fallen into my hands—*Resolutions of a meeting held in the Township of Augusta*, printed in the Kingston Gazette, and it is well worthy of republication.

“ At a meeting of a Committee, chosen by the Annual Town “ Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Township of Augusta, in the “ Johnstown District of Upper Canada, to answer certain queries

"proposed to them in an address published by one Robert Gourlay, "and dated at Queenston, October, 1817—It is unanimously Resolved,

"1st. That it is the opinion of this meeting, that Mr. Gourlay's address contains principles inimical to the peace and quiet which the Inhabitants of this Province so happily enjoy.

"2d. That however advantageous the information might be to Upper Canada, resulting from proper answers to these queries, and placed in *proper hands*, the present meeting cannot feel themselves justified in giving their support to the very injurious consequences which might result from such information, placed at the disposal of a man of Mr. Gourlay's political principles.

(“ Signed) [A true copy.]

“ Solomon Jones, J. D. C. “ R. C. Henderson,

“ John Bethune, Clerk, “ Jacob Heck,

“ H. Walker, C. P. “ J. S. Merwin,

“ Oliver Luert, “ John Simpson,

“ J. D. Campbell, “ Stephen Collins.

“ J. Heck, “ Augusta, February, 1818.”

When the Reader has perused the above Resolutions, I wish He would, a second time, look them over and think whether he ever before gazed on such a monstrous production. At the Annual Town Meeting of Augusta, (which, if regularly held, was on the first Monday of January) it would appear that the people wished to have a Report drawn out for me, of their Township; and, to perform for them this duty, they chose a Committee. The Committee were slack in their duty, but at last met in the month of February, and resolved, not only, *not* to fulfil the duty for which they had been chosen by the people, but *unanimously* resolved, that, my *first* “Address contains principles inimical to the peace and quiet which the Inhabitants of this Province so happily enjoy.” Let the good folks above Lake Ontario, only think of these words being applied to the address which so universally called forth their efforts and won to me so much of their regard! only think of them being applied to an Address which had gained the good will and confidence of the *mass of the people in Augusta!*

The second Resolution relaxes in favour of my Queries, but, dreads

" the very injurious consequences which might result from such information placed at the disposal of a man of my political principles." In the preamble, the members of this sapient committee only know, that *one* Robert Gourlay exists, but, bye and bye, they become clearer sighted with the light of their own Resolutions, and see into this *stranger's* very mind and *principles*. Having made so miraculous a discovery, one would have thought it nothing but fair that the constituents of Solomon Jones, John Bethune, H. Walker, and co. should have been apprised of the event, and that a meeting extraordinary should have been called in the Township of Augusta, to reconsider the signs of the times, and give fresh instructions to their honorable Committee how to act under circumstances, new, portentous and imposing. No, the danger was too imminent: there was no time to be lost: to use the Traveller's words "the theatre was on fire," so the Resolutions were signed, sealed, and without delay, delivered to the Editor of the Kingston Gazette, that not only the good people of Augusta should hear the tocsin, but that it should sound far and wide, to alarm the whole Province against danger, and to ward off calamity from "the peace and quiet "which the Inhabitants so happily enjoy."

Vivid as was the flash which shot such instant conviction into the minds of Solomon Jones, John Bethune, H. Walker, and the other worthies of Augusta, it was not more vivid than that which exhibited to me the folly and baseness of their conduct; but, very little disturbed in mind, I quietly sat down and wrote the following letter.

To the Editor of the Kingston Gazette.

Niagara, 19th March, 1818.

SIR,

I have this day seen in your paper of the 3d inst. certain Resolutions of Inhabitants of the Township of Augusta. Be so good, by the publication of this letter, to inform these people, that if they are honest men, and sincere in their endeavours for the public good, I expect they will, upon the same grounds of sincerity, and in ju-

tice to my character, immediately publish what they think to be wrong in my "*principles.*" This will afford me an opportunity, which is nothing but fair, of correcting their errors, and of guarding the public against the effects of busy malice.

I am by no means anxious about procuring any more Township Reports, as those in my possession are quite sufficient for my purpose. My duty, however, to the public is, to let the people of every quarter of the Province have an equal opportunity of speaking for themselves, as it is evident, that the tide of settlers will flow strongest to those places of the Province which are most fully described.

I take this opportunity of informing the Inhabitants of the lower parts of the Province who have not had an opportunity to read the Niagara Spectator, that all the writings which have lately appeared in that Newspaper, and some others, *upon the most important subject that ever engaged the attention of the public in Canada,* are now in the course of being published together in a pamphlet, which will be sold at Stores, all over the Province, by an early day.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

It may amuse the public for some weeks to speculate as to what reply will be made, and what my *political principles* will turn out, in reality, to be. Perhaps no reply at all will be given : perhaps the Committee of Augusta may wax contumacious like the Executive Council ; and, because they have once neglected their duty, been uncivil, and unjust, for this very reason remain obstinate and contumacious,—for this very reason continue to be uncivil, undutiful and unjust. In the mean time I cannot help being a little anxious while the identity of my principles hangs *in dubio*, having always held in reverence the admonition of the ancient Philosopher, “know thyself,” and, as a solace, have resolved to prepare for the worst, by singing, with the little woman in the Scotch ballad, “*this is no me.*”

The only grave question, is, how the Committee of Augusta were prevailed upon to commit such an act of madness. J. D. C. stands for Judge of the District Court ; and *Judge Solomon*, is doubly indicative of wisdom. C. P. stands for Clerk of the Peace, and if H. Walker is an absolute numskull, we may still suppose him qualified for his situation, by sharing the extraordinary endowments of his superior in the law. By some loop-hole of the law, we may expect

John Doe and Richard Roe, to escape from the verdict of lunacy, as well as from the jeopardy of being driven from bench and bar. As to what has excited these learned personages, and the eight worthies, without addition, to action, I cannot imagine, as my enquiries have failed in procuring for me any particulars, as to their characters or connections. John Bethune, Clerk, I am fully informed of. He is the established Clergyman of the Church of England, in the District of Johnstown. He was educated by Dr. Strachan, and like him deserted the Presbyterian Church, for that which holds out mitred honors and Clergy Reserves. I have spoken with many respectable people on the subject, who are well acquainted, both with the Reverend John Strachan, as well as with this Reverend John Bethune, and every one is fully convinced, that the former has led the latter into the miserable snare of shewing himself to the world as unworthy of trust, a fool, a busybody and a slanderer. The Niagara Spectator which contained my second Address, may have got so far as Augusta, before the end of February ; that in which I began my charge against individuals, and for the first time attacked Dr. Strachan, could not possibly have done so. The pupil and brother priest, therefore, of Dr. Strachan, began his infamous attack upon me before he knew of any act of mine against Dr. Strachan ; and completely proves how well I was apprized of the secret doings which were at work, to injure the cause I had espoused, and what good reason I had to expose the abominations which exist in this Province : indeed, were I superstitiously inclined, I should readily believe, that the whole course of my fate and proceedings has been directed by superior influences, in order to confound machinations, deep, vile and iniquitous.

Whoever looks back to the Spectator, of the 19th Feb. will find, that I intimated to Col. Smith, the Administrator, by letter from Sandwich, dated 20th Dec. 1817, the zealous manner in which I had been supported, by Magistrates and others, and that I should take York in my way to England, if he would assure me of having a map of the Province, and some published papers : at same time, in confidence that these would be granted me, I wrote a letter, for insertion in the Kingston Gazette, notifying that I should pass that way on my return to England, and directing communications to be addressed for me at Kingsten Post-Office. Dr. Strachan left York,

to travel thro' the lower parts of the Province, soon after my letter to the Administrator must have reached York, and the contents of which, he, no doubt, was made acquainted with. My being supported by the Magistrates and other Inhabitants, above Lake Ontario, would redouble his efforts to oppose me below ; and never perhaps was unrighteous zeal more strongly blazoned forth, than in the publication signed by his pupil and Reverend brother, Bethune.

That, all along from York downwards, influences have been exerted against me, is obvious from the fact, that in these quarters, not one Township out of ten has been reported to me, in proportion to what have been reported above the Lake ; and only three Reports have been sent to Kingston Post-Office, up to this time, according to information received from Mr. Macaulay of that Office.

This is fortunate for me. Had every Township been reported the publication would have been too cumbersome for circulation, and had I withheld any Reports intrusted to my care, and printed others, I must have given offence, and justly exposed myself to reproach. The Reports in my possession are quite sufficient in number for the grand purpose in view ; and having been obtained without Government influence,—without restraint or bias, will have greater weight than any thing of the kind that can again be collected.

If the Traveller's "*headache*" will permit, I should now be glad if he would summon up his best powers of ratiocination, and apply them to the whole case as it stands between me and his Reverend Protégé. Let him sum up all the written evidence, and fully weigh this last from Augusta, with the Reverend John Bethune's signature appended to it : let him walk out for the special purpose of collecting information among the most respectable characters of this country, and enquire, whether in their opinion, Bethune has not been instigated to do what he has done, by Strachan : when he has fully weighed and enquired, let him say what is the conviction on his mind—what ought to be the feelings of good men towards Dr. Strachan, if he is really guilty of instigating his pupil and brother priest, to such an act of indecency ?—what ought to be the conduct of the public towards such priests ? certainly every Christian should rise up and call aloud against the profanation of God's Temple, by men such as these.

I have been from my youth up at least a respecter of religion, and a respect for religion, will, I trust, grow in me with age, and ripen to perfection before I sink down into the dust ; but, as that respect becomes intense, so, I am sure, ought I to reprobate, and expose to shame those ministers of religion, who abuse their sacred trust, and, instead of being messengers of peace, are the harbingers of mischief, and instigators of all uncharitableness. There are certain offences which ought to rouse men above passive endurance. Jesus Christ himself gave example of active duty against those who were so regardless of decency, as to use, even the outer porches of the temple, for filthy purposes : he overturned their furniture, and drove themselves out with stripes. The Traveller would come forward as the apologist of Dr. Strachan, and merely because he has less nerve, less information and duller perceptions than me, would allow his mind to sink into the low suspicion, that I must be actuated by little selfish motives ;—having nothing whereon to rest his suspicions, he must echo back some of my own words, in a feeble but insidious interrogatory, “is it not possible that he may be unconsciously excited to make such attacks by those very *fascinations of personal feeling* which he entreats others to avoid ?” I wish the Traveller, for his own sake, to reconsider this interrogatory. He has nothing to prove : he can have no hope of my reform, even if wrong, for he says, I am “unconsciously excited,” and yet he will stain paper with an impression discreditable to my character and conduct. I did not expect this of the Traveller : it was not for this that I invited him to walk out before the public. I wished him plainly to state his reasons for so and so, and to use wit and sarcasm against me, if he could find any grounds upon which to stand for taking honest advantage of these. In all my writings I have had proofs to bear me out, reasons to refer to, and fair objects in view, for every liberty assumed. Here is a very improper liberty used, without proof or reason, and altogether vile in its object. It puts me in mind of a most invidious and unworthy remark which closes the critique of the Edinburgh Review, on Clarkson’s life of Penn. The admiration of the reader is charmed with the pure persevering spirit of that good man : he feels his very species elevated by the acts of the individual, and is roused to a desire of treading in his footsteps : the Reader is inspired with hope and laudable enthusiasm ; but the Reviewer

cannot lay down his pen without cooling the generous warmth of the soul, by a groundless insinuation that Wm. Penn, had been moved by worldly interests. Without some proof, what right was there for giving vent to such a thought? what benefit could accrue from it? but so it is, that virtue itself is constantly beset by jealousy, and the very memory of the dead, cannot escape the shafts of the envious.

The Traveller's first letter was so far creditable to him. It not only contained several sound observations; but, in the outset, had a worthy object in view, the removal of illiberal prejudices, and the correction of errors in public opinion. Unfortunately it did not rest here, but proceeded to weaken the energy of public duty, and lessen the expectation of the very thing which could at all render his endeavours, in any way, serviceable. I saw this, and the severity which I had to use, in duty to the cause, gave me pain. My present severity gives me pain still more bitter, as I find my first efforts were wholly thrown away on the individual. Could it not have occurred to the Traveller, that if I addressed myself to individuals, and used personalities that each person attacked was at liberty, if he had any thing to deny—any thing of which to complain, to speak up for himself. Who made the Traveller a judge between me and individuals? Of all men Dr. Strachan, is not the one who would remain silent, if he but dared to open his lips; and in justice to Mr. Clark, I have to inform the Traveller, that since I "rubbed his face "with snow," he has written me several most friendly letters.—What I exposed of Mr. Clark, proceeded from the very warmth of his heart, and I knew that the friendly lash, of unsophisticated good humour could not long offend him. "A hectic of a moment "might pass over his cheek, but could not tarry."

Major Leonard, may not yet be left alone. We find from the London Courier, that half-pay Officers are to be the only favoured settlers in Canada; and if they comport themselves as Gentlemen, I certainly shall not envy them any indulgence. Could the genuine spirit and good breeding of British officers be engrafted on the stock of sentiments and manners prevalent in this western world, fruit of a superior kind would certainly be produced. If half-pay officers bemean themselves after the manner of Major Leonard, and go with

out public censure, favours will not only be thrown away upon them, but most grossly misapplied. It may be my duty when I arrive in London, to report Major Leonard's conduct at the Horse Guards.

The Magistrates of Niagara, whom I lately addressed, owe to themselves, to me, and the cause in which I am engaged, an act of justice:—that satisfied, feelings will be set at liberty which are now very wrongfully "*imprisoned*."

ROBERT GOURLAY.



April 9, 1818.

To the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada.

Niagara, 2d April, 1818.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR Parliament is broken up!—a second time broken up, from employment of the most vital import to the honor and well-being of the Province!! Good God! what is to be the end of all this?

For my own part, Gentlemen, I had little hope of satisfaction from the sitting of Parliament, after perusing the Administrator's Speech from the Throne; and this little was entirely extinguished with the disgusting reply made to that Speech by your Representatives. That a man who had spent the best part of his life in Upper Canada,—whose every interest and affection rested here, should even *read* a Speech, not only containing mean sentiments, but notifying a measure, provoking in the extreme to the feelings of a large body of his suffering countrymen, was indeed heart-sickening: yet this was not all:—what could we expect—what sensation could swell in our breasts, when we found men, employed and *paid* by these very sufferers to guide their affairs and watch over their interests, bowing down to kiss the rod of affliction, and, in return for a most insulting offer, granting a receipt in full for demands, equally just, and well authenticated?

Gracious heaven! Did we, the offspring of early civilization—the first hope of genuine liberty—the favoured wards of divine reve-

lation, come to this new world, only to witness the degradation of our kind, and be humbled beneath the rude savage who ranges the desert woods?—Surely, British blood, when it has ebbed to its lowest mark, will learn to flow again, and, yet sustain, on its rising tide, that generous—that noble—that manly spirit, which first called forth applause from the admiring world.

It has been my fate to rest here nearly two months, viewing at a distance the scene of folly and confusion,—by turns serious, and by turns jocular, that the serious might not sink into the melancholy. I have advised—I have in duty offered services, but in vain: on went the sport, till yesterday, when the cannon announced to us that the play was over; and, now we have the second Speech of the Administrator, who has appropriately sunk down from the Throne to the Chair!

Gentlemen, the constitution of this Province is in danger, and all the blessings of social compact are running to waste. For three years the laws have been thwarted, and set aside by executive power;—for three sessions have your Legislators sat in Assembly, and given sanction to the monstrous—the hideous, abuse. A worthy catastrophe has closed this farce of government;—your Commons and your Peers have quarrelled, and, the latter would assert, that the constitutional charter of Canada may be trifled with. What is to be done? Do you expect any thing from a new Governor?—you will be disappointed. Do you expect any thing from a new set of Representatives?—here again you will be deceived. Your Members of Assembly are now at home: compare their characters with those around them, and you will find them equally honest—equally wise—equally independent. Now, that they are returned to society, as private individuals, I should be the very last man to call in question their worth or their probity: they are probably every way above par. It is not the men, it is the *system* which blasts every hope of good; and, till the system is overturned, it is vain to expect any thing of value from change of, Representatives or, Governors.

It has been the cant of time immemorial to make mystery of the art of Government. The folly of the million, and the cunning of

the few in power, have equally strengthened the reigning belief; but it is false, deceitful, and ruinous. The people of every nation, may at any time put down, either domestic tyranny, or abuse,—they may at any time, lay a simple foundation for public prosperity; they have only to be honest, and, in their honesty, bold.

In my last address to you, I said that the British Constitution was “that beautiful contrivance by which the people, when perfectly virtuous shall become all powerful.” Did you mark these words? — did you weigh them? — they are as important as they are true.— We, of all men, have least to oppose us in correcting the errors of our constitution. The British constitution has provided for its own improvement, in peace and quietness: it has given us the Right of petitioning the Prince or Parliament; and, this Right, exercised *in a proper manner*, is competent to satisfy every virtuous desire.

My present purpose is not to dwell on theory; but, to recommend and set example in the practice of using this glorious privilege. As Individuals, we have a right to petition the Prince or Parliament of Britain; and, we have a right to meet for this purpose in collective bodies. My proposal now is, that a meeting be forthwith held in each organized Township throughout the Province. I shall take upon me to name the day for the meeting of the people of this Township of Niagara; and say, that on Monday next, the 13th inst. I shall be ready by 12 o'clock noon, at Mr. James Rodgers' Coffee house, to proceed to business along with whoever is inclined to join me. The people of each Township should, I conceive, at meeting, choose a Representative and Clerk. The Representatives should assemble from the several Townships, within each District, on an appointed day, to draw up a petition to the Prince Regent; and, which could soon after be got signed by every well-wisher to the cause.

The District meetings should, without delay, hold conference by Representatives, each respectively choosing one, to meet in a Provincial convention, and who should arrange the whole business, dispatch commissioners to England with the Petitions, and hold correspondence with them, as well as with the supreme government. Two or three Commissioners would suffice; and the necessary cost of carrying the whole ably and respectfully into effect, would require

but a trifling contribution from each Petitioner. It is not going out of bounds to reckon on ten thousand petitioners, and a dollar from each would make up a sum adequate for every charge. I should recommend the subscriptions and payments to commence at the first Township meetings, the money to be paid to the Clerks, who should keep in hand one seventh for local and incidental disbursements, and pay over the remainder to a Treasurer, to be appointed in each District, by the Representatives, at their first meeting. Beyond making choice of Representatives and Clerks, the less that is done at Township meetings the better : debate of all things, should be avoided. The Clerks should minute transactions, and keep a list of subscribers which should immediately be published in the nearest Newspaper within the Province, and, week after week, in the same manner, should be reported, additions. The public would thus, at once see the strength and growth of the cause, as well as have vouchers for the payment of cash. Every transaction should be plain, downright, and open to view or inspection,—every principle should be declared—every proceeding be made known.

The simplicity of all this, and the ease with which it may be accomplished, is obvious : to go into more minute detail at present would be wasting time. No man, by joining the cause, can lose more than a Dollar, and no responsibility whatever is incurred. As I take upon me to name the day of Meeting for this Township of Niagara, so that meeting may appoint days for the meetings of other Townships, and, for the District meeting ; seeing, that it can be matter of no consequence who settles such points, provided the business thereby has a fair chance of commencement, and that the whole system of petitioning may proceed without doubt or delay. No man upon such solemn occasion should say "I am greater than another," "and will not be seen acting with him;" no one should say "I am less, and therefore presume not to set myself forward." On such an occasion, and under such circumstances as the present, every party, and every personal prejudice, should be put down—every eye should be resolutely bent on the one thing needful—a radical change of system in the Government of Upper Canada.

I address myself particularly to Land Owners, because their interests are most deeply involved : but every man resident in Canada

—every man who is a lover of peace—who desires to see this country independent of the United States—who desires to see a worthy connection maintained between this Province and Britain;—every man in short who has a spark of sincerity or patriotism in his soul, has now sufficient cause to bestir himself.

There was a time when Israel was fainished with intense drought, Day after day, and week after week, the uncovered sun rose, only to frighten the nation, and open more wide the yawning fissures of the scorched earth :—there was yet however faith in Israel ; and the faith of a few brought, at last, salvation to the expiring multitude. Let not the ancient record be lost to these modern days ;—let not the signs and figures of the material world be thrown aside as vain emblems, illustrations, and manifestations of the will, the power, and the goodness of God. He never deserts his creatures while they are true to themselves, and faithful to him,—while they honorably put to use the divine gifts of rationality. The course to be pursued, by the people of this Province, at the present juncture, is so clear, that he who runs may read : they have only to put trust in the success of their own virtuous endeavours ; and, success will as surely follow, as day succeeds to night.—Yes, worthy Inhabitants of this Township of Niagara, you may begin the necessary work with confidence :—the little cloud which rose from the horizon, at first no bigger than a man's hand, gradually expanded—mantled over the relentless face of a burning sky, and at last showered down refreshment on the thirsty land.

The good which may result, not only to this Province, but to the general cause of truth, should these proposals be cheerfully and alertly adopted, surpasses all calculation. It would be needless for me now to descant on the subject. If there is really no public spirit in the country, I have already thrown away too much of my time: if there is, let it now be shown, for never was occasion more urgent. If the people of Canada do not now rouse themselves, they may indeed have plenty whereon to exist; but, to that “righteousness which exalts a nation” they will have no claim. The farmer may plod over his fields,—the merchant may sit drowsy and dull, in his store ; but, the life, the vigour, the felicities of a prosperous and happy people will not be seen in the land :—the superiority of public manage-

ment in the United States, will bother all hope of competition : America will flourish, while Canada sinks into comparative decay ; and, another war, will not only bring with it waste and destruction, but ignominious defeat.

In the scheme proposed I will accept of no appointment ; but, persons acting in it shall have my utmost assistance, and I shall make clear to them every course to be pursued. As soon as matters come to a head, all information collected by me, shall be at the disposal of the Commissioners ; and even better consequences may be expected from this popular movement, than any that could have followed from the Parliamentary enquiry, had that been allowed to proceed. It will shew, that though the rights of Parliament may be trifled with, those of the people of Upper Canada, are not so easily to be set at defiance.

The Assembly of the Lower Province is to petition the British Parliament as to their trade : your Representatives are to petition the Regent as to their privileges : when I found my petition set aside and despised at York, I dispatched one immediately to be presented to the House of Commons in England, to call attention there, to Canadian affairs : all this will go for little, if something else is not done. You have read in the Newspapers of my scheme having been discountenanced by ministers at home ; you have read of speculations upon making the best bargain with the United States for these Provinces. I knew whence all this proceeds : I know what would open the eyes of the people and government at home to the true value of the Canadas, and put an end to such unnatural—such disgusting surmises ; and all this I shall be happy to explain, as soon as explanation can be useful. One thing I am very sure of, that if the people of Canada will only do their duty as honest men, and as brothers, in unity, not only every just claim may be paid by next Christmas, but a foundation may be laid for this Province becoming speedily the most flourishing and secure spot on the habitable globe.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

SIR,

The impression produced upon my mind by the perusal of Mr. Gourlay's last letter, was neither favourable to him nor pleasing to myself. The attack is illiberal, and he has evidently tortured my words into a sense which I am confident no other person will ever suppose they intended to convey; and the style will shew, that he does not so calmly bear "the friendly lash of unsophisticated good humour" as he professes to do. Were I indeed guilty of all he accuses me of, I would consider myself unworthy to contend with him, but if I did not reply, his readers might imagine that I silently acknowledged the justice of censures so "discreditable to my character." Tho' Mr. Gourlay's feelings, when he dismissed my genies, might have been as quiescent as those of Uncle Toby, they were certainly very different in their real nature. Uncle Toby's breathed the spirit of mildness, and forbearance. Mr. Gourlays are so much the reverse, that one would suppose the fly had stung him.

He complains that I disturbed him by an attack while resting on his arms, like the heroes of old, after having routed the Major; but I am not aware that I attacked him. My first letter scarcely laid any thing to his charge, and I was rather surprised that he answered it. He in reality disturbed me, for he might naturally suppose, that I felt fatigued after "belabouring the false pride of the "Canadians." Never was a letter written with a better intention, and the style was such, that I thought it could draw no reply, but I was mistaken, for Mr. Gourlay seems to consider every one who interferes in his cause, as a target set up for him to shoot at. He would wish his opponents to pass before him, as the descendants of Banquo passed before Macbeth—that he might make his remarks upon each, and then see them annihilated.

Mr. Gourlay tells me that I was induced to interfere in his cause, by a feeling of vanity, arising from the flattery administered by interested persons. He apparently, forgets the declaration he once made, "that it is ungentlemanly to question motives," and what is still more extraordinary, he does not seem aware, that in his first attack upon me, he says, that I "mean to do good." How inconsistent it is in him, first to state his belief that I am sincere, and

mean to do good, and then to hint that foolish vanity has urged me to act as I have done. But I would wish Mr. Gourlay to be aware, that although my perceptions are duller than his, I can distinguish praise of real value, from that spurious kind, which might be bestowed by weak individuals, who would wish to make me their tool. In my opinion, flattery so misapplied, is as contemptible as the people who degrade themselves by offering it. Neither am I so ambitious of distinction, as to profess sentiments foreign to my heart, that I may secure the applause of beings so despicable in their character, nor is my "love of conquest" so great, as to make me utter accusations, alike repugnant to honor and conscience, merely that I may be complimented upon having "lashed" Mr. Gourlay. I have always expressed my conviction of the purity of *his* motives, and am happy to say I have not altered my opinion, although he is ungenerous enough to question *mine*, and attribute what I have written, to the most humiliating kind of vanity that can enter into the heart of man. This treatment certainly is not very encouraging, and might almost be offered as an apology for *perverseness*. He now alludes to the parable of the feast mentioned in scripture. But is his treatment of his guests similar to what we may suppose the scripture lord's would be? or is it such as can have any chance of alluring others to join the table. Yes, if his guests quietly petition as he directs them, and are silent, he will entertain them with politeness, but if they utter a breath against him, or his measures, he turns them into ridicule—he "lashes" them—he "dismisses them" "forever." I will not acknowledge that I am *perverse*. On the contrary, my mind is open to conviction of every kind, and always disposed to pursue a course which has been demonstrated to be right. I go still farther, I confess that I think it was *my* duty, and the duty of every one to petition, but Mr. Gourlay would allow me to do nothing more. He calls me *perverse*, because I endeavour to defend myself from his attacks—because I find fault with his proceedings—and because I do not support him in every thing. He accuses me of "depreciating his efforts for the public good, bothering" "ing serious reflection with mere nonsense, and endeavouring to "throw into ridicule, the most important duty incumbent on the "people of this Province at the present moment;" and challenges me with uttering "scandalous misrepresentations," and "staining paper with impressions discreditable to his character and conduct.

Let me tell Mr. Gourlay, that these are the impressions upon *his* own mind, not upon *mine*, or I believe upon that of the public. My last letter, to use his own words, was assuredly almost, "unoffending production," and any evil which it now contains, is produced by the restless scrutiny of Mr. Gourlay's jealous spirit. The juices of the most healthy plants, can by misapplied art, and torturing analysis, be converted into a liquid of baleful and poisonous quality. Thus the malignant effect of evil construction, may alter the spirit of a sentiment, although the language remains the same. I wish Mr. Gourlay had considered the nature of these accusations more particularly, before he laid them against me, for he could scarcely have brought forward any, that I would more unwillingly admit, and which I can more conscientiously deny the justice of. To *depreciate* the efforts any one makes for the public good, however trifling they may be, is indeed a guilty attempt; but when the object of him who is depreciated, is national, and tends to promote the happiness of the people, and when his perseverance, and steadiness prove the justice of his cause—the man who attempts to counteract such endeavours, must truly be actuated by a damnable spirit—a spirit similar to that of Lucifer, whose "only good is evil." Yet I am charged by Mr. Gourlay, with an attempt which even a traitor to his country would blush to acknowledge himself guilty of.

Let me now discover in what instance I have "stained paper with "impressions discreditable to his character, and conduct." I have hinted that he may be unconsciously excited by the fascinations of personal feeling. He takes the word *unconsciously* in a sense which seems to increase the injustice of my interrogatory, but he must surely be aware, that if he is *unconsciously* excited, he cannot be blamed; because the act, in that case, is neither deliberate, nor voluntary. But why lay so much stress-upon this? Is Mr. Gourlay liable to none of the errors of humanity? Is he proof against the deceptions of the heart, which betray the most noble, and most enlightened? Has he cast the beam out of his own eye, that he may see clearly to draw the mote out of his brother's? Is it criminal to be under the fascinations of personal feeling?

I am at a loss to conceive what could induce Mr. Gourlay, to style Dr. Strachan, my *protege*. I never had any idea of attempting to protect him. In a cause like the present, it is my opinion,

that he who requires protection, does not deserve it, for I would wish every one to stand or fall by his own merits.—I do not recollect that I have said any thing in favor of Dr. Strachan, and I believe even Mr. Gourlay would be inclined to accuse me of transgressing the limits of liberality and justice, if I ventured to attack every individual, who has malignantly opposed him. He may be assured, that if Dr. Strachan was my *protege*, I would use more effectual means than I have hitherto employed, to rescue his character from the obloquy his accusations attach to it.

I have already mentioned that I think it was my duty to petition, and I can assure Mr. Gourlay, that I neither require him to bawl in my ears, nor supplicate on his knees for such a favor. But tho' I had done so, what good could have resulted from it, while the Parliament is in its present situation? Mr. Gourlay's utmost bawling would not have made them attend to either his petition, or mine. What confidence can be placed in men, who, when assembled together for national purposes, and aware that the prosperity and salvation of the country depends upon their exertions, waste their time in private quarrels, and idle wrangling about privileges, and petty distinctions, forgetting their duty to the people they represent, and pursuing a line of conduct, which their God, their country, and their consciences must equally condemn? What hopes of success can a single individual have, when he petitions upon a subject, the consideration of which it is their interest to avoid? I am well aware how important it is, that an enquiry into the state of the Province should be immediately set on foot, for Canada evidently is not what it should be; and the more mismanaged, and in arrear its affairs become, its ministers will of course feel more unwilling to commence the enquiry, because the difficulty will be greater, and the result more discreditable to themselves. So far from realizing the detestable accusations Mr. Gourlay throws out against me, I would feel inclined to *ridicule* those people whose weakness of mind frightens them from urging the duty of petitioning. It can at least do no harm. It must do good—for even supposing it possible, that the conduct of public affairs was found to be immaculate, the inhabitants of Upper Canada, would feel the delightful assurance, that their rulers are not disposed to take advantage of the carelessness they manifest with regard to the state of the

administration. Canada is at present in a situation which calls loudly for the attention, and interference of every one. The British government has refused encouragement to emigrants, and settlers, and it must therefore depend upon itself for population, and means of defence, against that enemy whose preparations, warlike dispositions, and inestimable superiority may be viewed at one glance from our very frontier. Canada from its intrinsic qualities is surely worthy of every exertion that can be made to promote its welfare. Where can there be greater room for improvement of every kind, or a finer prospect of future greatness, than in a country possessing some thousand miles inland navigation—a soil, from its variety and richness, adapted for every kind of agriculture—a climate, combining the mildness of Persia, with the salubrity of northern Europe—inexhaustible forests—splendid scenery, and boundless extent of country? The weakness and imperfection, visible in every part of Canada, are indeed rendered more apparent by the contrast and consideration, of these grand features. Yet such advantages will not of themselves make a great nation. They continue dormant, until brought into service, by the energies and enterpize of the people, and the liberal and extended views of their representatives. It is evident that something must be done for Canada immediately. Its inhabitants ought not to trust to the government in Britain. They should act for themselves, and press for enquiry and reform, with a union and firmness, which will bear down all the opposition raised by private interest, and petty ambition, as the mountain torrent sweeps away the withered leaves strewed on its bosom by the angry winds of autumn. There is neither rebellion, nor sedition, nor disaffection, manifested by the free exercise of petitioning. No subject, as Mr. Gourlay justly observes, can honestly rebel, while he is in possession of this privilege. Petition is merely a channel through which we express our opinion to our superiors in power.—If Canada is treated as she deserves there is no pitch of perfection at which she may not arrive. Virtuous endeavors for her welfare, will alike introduce into her bosom, national, and individual advantages—the fascinations of arts and accomplishments—the sublimity of science, and lustre of philosophy—the brilliancy of genius—the splendour of wealth, and rank, and the polish of society, and all those intellectual refinements, which “ameliorate our condition, and raise us to heaven.”

That this may be the result of Mr. Gourlay's exertions is my fervent hope. If it is, it will extort acknowledgements from the most illiberal and narrow-minded of his opponents. I have all along been charmed with the persevering spirit he has evinced in his proceedings. I have been interested by the eloquence, and address, with which he defends himself from the attacks of slander and malignity. My enthusiasm for the country has been augmented by observing his efforts for its welfare. My hopes have been brightened by the confidence he has in the final success of his cause—and I now bid him adieu, with a wish that his zeal may never again deceive him into a misconstruction of words, or induce him on slight grounds, to accuse an individual of what, I am convinced from his own conduct, must appear to him the most unworthy, uncharitable, and damning charge that can be brought against humanity.

I am, &c,

THE TRAVELLER.

April 16, 1818.

In consequence of Mr. Gourlay's invitation to the inhabitants of Niagara township to meet on Monday last, a very full meeting was held at Mr. James Rogers' Coffee House. Mr. G. to open the business, addressed the company, in substance as follows: " Gentlemen, your presence here to-day is gratifying to me, inasmuch as it is a proof that my call for a meeting has been well received. Beyond the publication of my last Address to the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada, I took no step whatever to gain support. It is contrary to my principles to solicit, privately, assistance in the public cause, and, all party work, I disclaim. It is usual to open the business of public meetings with a speech; but I am neither a public speaker, nor an admirer of speechifying. I too often tends only to stir up the passions and mislead the judgment. Every man, I trust, has his mind made up to the necessity of a grand move in this Province, to rescue it from the damning influences, which prevail and bar its prosperity. The move now proposed to be made, is equally safe and constitutional. In old countries, where society has formed itself into two classes—the rich and the poor, great popular movements are to be dreaded

"Where *nine-tenths* of the people labour only to gratify the lusts of *one tenth* it may naturally be supposed, that the majority only require concert to rid themselves of oppression, and always have the *will* to be rid of it. In this country, circumstances are quite otherwise. Not more than one person in ten, is without landed property, and there exists no such thing as an oppressed multitude. The agitation of the public mind here, therefore, can never be attended with danger: every man has reason to be satisfied with his relative condition; and no internal movement can disturb the legitimate possession of property. The general scheme of proceeding, which I have sketched out in my printed handbill, is, I believe, the simplest and most effectual. If gone into with spirit, nothing can resist it. I trust therefore, Gentlemen, you will proceed not only with unanimity, but zeal. Without zeal no public cause can even have chance of success. Our business, to-day I conceive, is chiefly to enrol our names and choose office-bearers. On the choice of respectable office-bearers, much of our success must depend. That this choice may be as free as possible, I would recommend that candidates should be proposed in writing: any person proposing a candidate not to name him aloud, but to drop a slip of paper with the name or names written upon it into a hat handed round, and then given to the Chairman, who will announce the candidates.

"Besides a Representative and Clerk, I should propose to have a Committee of five persons, including the Representative as one. The Committee would manage concerns within the township; and, it would be very desirable, if active individuals would volunteer to go into the respective townships of the district, to forward the cause. I have named a dollar as the sum to be subscribed; this, however, is named only as a minimum, and, it is to be hoped, that many individuals will be liberal."

Niagara, April 13th, 1818.

This day a numerous Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Township of Niagara, having been held at the House of James Rodgers, and DAVID SECORD, Esq. M. P. being called to the Chair, the Address of Mr. Gourlay, to the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada, dated April 2d, 1818, was read over, and its whole tenor

and sentiments unanimously approved of. In conformity to the recommendations therein contained, the Meeting proceeded to elect a Representative and Clerk, when *Robert Hamilton*, of Queenston, Esquire, was appointed to fill the former situation, and *John Ross*, of Niagara, Esquire, the latter. A committee also was appointed to forward the views of the Meeting, viz: *Timothy Street*, *John Hagan*, *Wm. G. Hepburne*, and *Robert Moore*, Esquires.

Monday, 20th of this present month, was named as a proper day for the Meetings of other Townships, within the District of Niagara, and Monday 27th, for the Meeting of the Representatives from the various Townships, to be held at Shipman's Tavern, St. Catharines: the Committee duly to advertise the same, and take such steps, as to them shall appear requisite for furthering the good cause.

The thanks of the Meeting were then unanimously voted to David Secord, Esq. for his public spirit in coming forward on this occasion, and liberally fulfilling the duties of the Chair.

DAVID SECORD, *Chairman.*

A true copy, JOHN ROSS, *Clerk.*



TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

Niagara, 15th April, 1818.

SIR,

Although I had determined, before seeing the last production of the Traveller, to have done with every thing which was not of serious import to the public cause in which I am engaged, you will still, I trust, spare me room to answer the Traveller, who, from the beginning I made exception of, in my general rule. His last letter resembles his first: it has some things very good in it, and some things worse than useless. From where he says, "I would feel inclined to ridicule those people whose weakness of mind frightens them from urging the duty of petitioning. It can at least do no harm. It must do good," the letter is unexceptionable; and, the whole of that paragraph, from these words to the end, is excellent. I wish, indeed, it could be got by heart, and repeated daily by every man of the Province, till the business is done: nay, I would have it copied out and framed, to be hung up in every honest man's

parlour, to remind him of his duty, and the importance of the subject. The prior part of the letter is full of pet, bad argument and self-deception. The Traveller always writes well ; but, he has not the faculty of reasoning. He assumes premises altogether unwarrantable, and seems to have no idea of the right structure of a proposition. He is like many young men that I have known at college, possessed of quick parts and lively imaginations, but who never could get over the *pons assinorum*. He set out with saying, of my last letter concerning him, that it is “illiberal,” and denominates it an “attack.” It was neither *illiberal* nor an *attack*. It was a *defence*, and, in answer to an *illiberal attack*. The Traveller points at much naughtiness in me, but forgets, or, at least avoids, to say any thing of the words, “*quibbles*,” “*perverts*,” “*unfair*” and “*conceals*.” It was his use of these words towards me, which made him a fair mark for severity. They were improper words and conveyed illiberal ideas. The use of these words broke the bonds of “unsophisticated good humour,” and gave me liberty to be rude and severe, if I chose. The Traveller seems to feel severity, as if he was known to the public ; but, in his character of Traveller, he is not known to the public : he is unseen : he rests *incog*, he is nothing but an unfeeling man of straw. Before the public, on the contrary, I stand open to view,—a real personage, not for myself, but for the public weal ; and, if severity, even to Mr. Nobody, will benefit this cause, it is my duty to be severe.

My use of the word “*pervereness*” touches the Traveller deepest in the quick. “Damning” as such a charge may be, I could still maintain my point ; but, I shall do more good by referring to the conduct of others. There are Gentlemen in this very Township who stand well with the world, dress genteelly, and talk sensibly, whose conduct to me, as well as their refusal to come forward to do their duty as petitioners, is most truly perverse. They acknowledge that all I have said is just and true : they have even personal regard for me : they admit that the situation of public affairs is disgraceful and ruinous : they say that something ought immediately to be done : they see as clearly as the Traveller that petitioning “can at least do no harm”—that “it must do good ;” but, notwithstanding all this, they hesitate and object from mere trifles. Their objections are not half so rational as those the Traveller formerly recorded “why was not all this found out before ?” and “it

"is astonishing that this was not found out before." No : they are still more foolish and perverse. They say "why is this man appointed to act in committee?" "why is this other in the committee styled *Esquire?*" and "we would subscribe if some other person would subscribe." I say, that all this proceeds from the perverseness of human nature. Their consciences tell them what is right : they know that it is their duty to come forward, yet still they lag behind. They have nothing to say against the cause of truth, and therefore their spleen has vent against personal character or rank in life, as was the case, of old, when those who would not follow Jesus Christ, said "is not this the son of the Carpenter?" If such persons did not attend the meeting it is most wanton perverseness to be gossiping about and finding fault with any man appointed by the meeting, or, with any honorary title conferred.— There is only one man in the committee that I ever knew before the meeting, and I have only once been in his company. All the men, for any thing I know, are good enough men ; but, in fact, the committee has nothing to do in the business but mere trifles, such as reporting the names of those willing to subscribe, and so forth. The Representative and Clerk I am better acquainted with, and more fit men for their situation could not have been selected, both as regards honor and activity. The fine which I shall now impose on the Traveller for all his evil deeds is not heavy ; but, if he agrees to it and discharges the debt, it will be a real proof of his sincerity in the cause. I say then, he must not only attend his own Township Meeting and do his best there, but he must afterwards come to Niagara and go from house to house : he must invite every one to set aside trifling and all uncharitableness ; and he must endeavour to get every one, who has not already subscribed, to give their name and dollar to the good cause, especially magistrates, and all who lay claim to the character of gentlemen.

The Traveller must no longer hesitate, from want of "hope," as to the good he may do as "a single individual." If every one forbears to petition, or aid the cause, from misgiving of this kind, nothing will be done. If every individual had come forward at my call, two months ago, to hold members of Parliament to their duty by petitioning, I am quite assured, they would have done their duty : the unity and force of the popular voice would have "compelled them." He speaks of the men in parliament "forgetting

" their duty to the people." I say the people have neglected *their* own duty, and, if they neglect it still, they will suffer and be insulted still. The men in Parliament are like other men, doing "evil continually :" all men are apt to pursue " a line of conduct which " their God, their country and their consciences must equally con- " demn." All men are sprung from Adam, and have a relish for Apples. Members of parliament, when they get into York, are in the Garden of Eden, and cannot forbear munching the forbidden fruit. We must shut the gate of Eden, or, lock up the apples : we must no longer expose our men of Assembly to temptation : we must hold over them, for ever, the flaming sword of justice and the law.

I have hitherto excused the Traveller, for withholding his real name, on the score of " timidity." He must now lay aside timidity, and, " false pride." Example is better than precept, and the Canadians will soon get over the sin which most easily besets them, when they see the Traveller walking before them, a real man, and rid of all maiden bashfulness. To prove to the Traveller, that " false pride" is not a failing of mine any more than insincerity, I beg leave to say that I shall be ready, at Jaines Regers' Coffee-House, next Wednesday the 22d inst. by 12 o'clock noon, to accompany my fellow Traveller, in his round, over the village of Niagara after subscribers ; and if it is agreeable to him I shall call aloud at every door, "*here are two poor Travellers come begging for your name and a dollar, in aid of the great public cause.*" Every man will then be liberal : every woman will smile on us for love, of the Traveller. The Devil is fast retreating from this ancient capital : the leaven of the pharisees will no longer be seen in it : the very fist which was once clenched against me, has at last opened wide to friendship and forgiveness :--indeed it is now doubtful if there is more than one villain in the whole District of Niagara.

Before I wrote the letter, which the Traveller calls an " attack," I mean my last letter regarding the Traveller, for now that I recollect, all my letters, to Major Leonard and others were designated *attacks* ;—before I last wrote of the Traveller, it was matter of consideration with me, what style it should be most proper to assume in answering him, best to serve the public cause—whether the severe, the ludicrous or the confessional. As the *confessional* style may not be comprehended, I must first confess, that I am pri-

vately well acquainted with the Traveller—have the highest regard, not only for his literary talents, but for his goodness of heart, and, bating safe conduct over the asses bridge, in mathematics, there is no man in whose hands I would rather trust my life. Now, before writing my last letter, I had a wish to see him, and consult whether it would not suit best to tell the public, that his second letter was intended as a mere burlesque, and that the words, “quibbles” “perverts,” “unfair” and “conceals,” were used only to try, for a week, what would be thought of them—whether the “false pride,” or better sort of pride, of the Canadians, would be offended with them. As it so happened, I missed seeing my friend, to shake hands as usual between heats, and behold the lightning of my wrath, set fire to my good man of straw. It is all for the best perhaps : my good effigy, when burning, shews off to perfection. The Traveller improves under the lash : he is now actually to petition : his doubts, his delays, his heats, have all given place to good resolutions, and right feelings. We have met, shook hands, and before several witnesses, he has acknowledged, that the words above quoted, were very improper. He will not even have a “headache” now, though I should oblige him to read half a dozen columns : I shall, however, neither put him to this test, nor proceed further than seems necessary to some explanation which may be generally beneficial, for there are Canadians, not a few, whose reasoning powers are not above par, any more than those of my fellow Traveller from Britain ; and, I should be sorry if any ill befel the public cause through mistakes, in argument, or personal dislikes to me, founded thereon.

The Traveller says, I tell him, that he “was induced to interfere in my cause by a feeling of vanity,” and repeats this word three times ; but I cannot, upon search, find the word any where in my letter. He then thinks it inconsistent in me to accuse him of vanity, after giving him credit for sincerity and good intention. Now, there might be no inconsistency in this, even though correctly stated. It often happens that people are moved by vanity, yet mean to do good, and, in the main, are sincere. After all that I have said of Dr. Strachan, I may now acknowledge it possible that perhaps he was sincere and meant to do good. The same legislative Councillor who called him “arrogant,” told me also, that “he was a good-hearted ‘little fellow.’” Being good-hearted, sincere, or having no bad in

tention, is not enough to excuse a man from committing offences : many have been not only accessory to murders, but actually have committed murders from errors of judgment. To plead error of judgment, would not save such men from the gallows : and, should lord Selkirk prosecute Dr. Strachan for libel, as I have heard it whispered he may yet do, the utmost proof of sincerity of disposition or good intention, ought not to stand in the way of justice. Thus, even with correct statement, there is no inconsistency in giving a person credit for sincerity, while moved by vanity or worse passions ; but, the Traveller forgets that the credit he had from me for sincerity was given in my first letter in answer to his first, and anterior to the appearance of his second letter, to which my second was a reply. His second letter may have, at once, changed my opinion as to his sincerity, and exhibited signs of vanity ; but, in fact, as to vanity, I returned to him, in my second letter, nothing but joke for joke, and only sung of "false ambition" being the death of his genius. My worthy friend, getting so far confused in his notions, goes on confounding and confusing, and asks if my "treatment of "my guests is similar to what we may suppose the scripture Lord's "would be?" Before answering this question I must first correct the Traveller's language. "The scripture Lord" is generally understood to mean Jesus Christ himself: any comparison with him would be profane ; but these words are improperly introduced by the Traveller. The scripture informs us only that "a certain man made "a feast," a mere man, and, in comparing with this mere man, I feel easy in saying, that my invitation to petition is equally sincere and pure, as to its end, as was the invitation to the feast, in the parable. I shall be sorry indeed, if any fault of mine, and not a few faults I have, should militate against my sincere efforts for good in this cause. The Traveller will, I hope, in future, do every thing for the cause, and rather throw a veil over my faults as an individual, than create jealousies which may obstruct its progress. Neither I nor the Traveller are any thing to the public as individuals.—The moment we think only of ourselves, we are trifling with the public cause ; and following this rule, neither his second letter, nor the greater part of his third is "unoffending." Even the question as to my being "liable to none of the errors of humanity" and those that follow, are all offending, as neither I nor any one would answer otherwise than in the negative. It may not be "criminal to be under the fascinations of personal feeling," but why speak of it, at all, unless there

is proof of the existence of such feeling ? Why put a question, merely to start a surmise ? Surmises concerning my character have come from little to great, and the most desperate measures have been taken to blast the good cause, thro' the false slander of my character. Only two days ago I was attacked on the street of Niagara by a member of Parliament. I was called a traitor, and the leader of a seditious meeting. The only object which I could discover was to provoke me into a brawl, and by this means to throw odium on the patriotic views of petitioners ; but the intention was completely frustrated. I stood the fire of scandal and blackguardism, with the greatest coolness of temper : I was reviled, but reviled not again : the meeting was held in peace and quietness ; and, I trust, it is only the first of many virtuous and patriotic steps towards getting payment of the just claims of sufferers by war, as well as towards establishing an entire new system of management in Upper Canada.— The cause, I trust, will now prosper the better for its persecutions, and I shall take care of the Member of Parliament. I shall make him over to the law ; and, try if Members of Parliament are to be allowed to disgrace themselves as private men, as much as they did at York, as public characters. I am neither subject to fear nor to passion ; and I trust that God will protect me from murder and all harm. I shall calmly pursue the path of my duty, and I shall try whether personal security is to be held as light in Upper Canada as security in property. I have lived long in Scotland, and long in England : in both countries I have freely published my sentiments of public men and measures ; but, till I came here, no one ever dared to threaten to *shoot* me, or to *strike* me ; nor was I ever before slandered as a seditious character. If a jury of Upper Canada cannot put a stop to such horrible language and conduct, I should be loth indeed, to bring a single man to this country as a settler. If I had been supported in Upper Canada, frankly from the beginning, and in no degree above the deserts of my first Address, ships freighted with men and money might by this time, in consequence, have been weighing anchor on the shores of Europe, for the St. Lawrence, instead of taking their departure for the States of America. By the very last post, I have accounts from England, that a friend of mine, who left home only a fortnight before me, and who is now settled in Indiana, has published an account of that country in England, to draw emigrants thither. His talents are such, that I know his work will take effect. Three years ago, he published a tour in France, which in

less than five months run thro' as many editions. My friend and the American government will, I believe, have much to thank the council at York, the Legislators and certain Magistrates, not far from Niagara, for the dastardly, and idiotical conduct by which they have rendered the most extraordinary effort that ever was made for the public good of this Province, so far impotent, as to lose its effects for a whole season, and perhaps for ever; for the stream, when once diverted to Indiana, may not easily be brought into its more natural channel. My personal efforts have now prevailed so far in opposition to the infamous influences against the cause, as to have got the business on the shoulders of a constitutional meeting, and if the people are true to themselves in holding orderly and peaceable meetings all over the Province, as I have pointed out, the cause will even yet have a glorious triumph. In this case I repeat my own words, "*not only every just claim may be paid by next Christmas, but a foundation may be laid for this Province becoming speedily the most flourishing and secure spot on the habitable globe.*"

ROBERT GOURLAY.

P. S. Since the meeting of the Niagara Township, I have been invited to attend the meetings of several other townships; but I can only be at one, and, there, I should be sorry to dictate. The meetings were directed to be held all on the same day, that individuals might not be going from one to another, and interfereing or voting out of their own Township. All may be sure, I wish them well. The main consideration is to have honest and independent men chosen as Representatives, to attend at St. Catharines, on Monday, the 27th of this month, to deliberate quietly, as to the best steps towards getting the claims of sufferers by war paid, and public abuses corrected. I trust, that beside him who tried to disturb the peace of the Niagara meeting, there is not another man so base as to scandalize constitutional meetings, or breed in them confusion. It would be well, however, for the people to be on their guard against all who are in the habit of going to York, for land, and office favours, for none of these will like to see honest men petitioning for fair claims, or the correction of abuses, by which villians "live, move, and have their being."

R. G.

April 23d, 1818.

To THE PUBLIC.

IT having been stated to me by some of my friends that the public mind was impressed with the idea of my having participated in, and sanctioned the recent improper and unwarrantable publications of Mr. Robert Gourlay ; I conceive it a duty which I owe to the Government, to the Province, and to myself to declare that beyond publishing a statistical report of this Province, he had neither my approbation nor my countenance.

In making this declaration, I trust that the tenor of my life justifies my asserting that factious discontent never originated in my breast. Having said this much in vindication of my own sentiments, I shall, in order to prevent error in, and rescue from distress the heedless proselytes of Mr. Gourlay's "one thing needful"—viz". "a "radical change of system in the Government of Upper Canada," transcribe for their information, an extract from the common law of the British Empire, which bears on the point of unlawful meetings or conventions, viz. "The constitution of Great Britain having "placed the representation of the nation, and the expression of the "national will, in the parliament, no other meeting or convention, "even of every individual in the Kingdom, would be a competent "organ to express that will ; and meetings of such a nature, tend- "ing merely to sedition, and to delude the people into an imaginary "assertion of rights, which they had before delegated to their re- "presentatives in parliament, could only tend to introduce anarchy "and confusion, and to overturn every settled principle of govern- "ment," An act of parliament was passed in Ireland, in the year 1793, to prevent any such meetings or conventions ; and a few ignorant individuals, who in the same year had dared to assemble under that title in Scotland, were quickly dispersed, and their leaders convicted of seditious practices ; for which they were sentenced to transportation.

I shall conclude with recommending to all, to weigh well, how they attend to visionary enthusiasts.

THOMAS CLARK.

Niagara, April 18. 1818.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

IN consequence of a handbill having this day appeared, signed by the Honorable Thomas Clark, of the Legislative Council, in which an attempt is made to stigmatize the principles adopted by the Niagara meeting; the committee, appointed by that meeting, recommend the people of other townships, (where any *doubt* may exist in consequence of Mr. Clark's handbill) to postpone the election of their Representatives until a future day of meeting is advertised.

Great as the necessity is for an instant appeal being made to the supreme government, regarding the state of Upper Canada, the committee would, by no means press any measure until its legality is proved, and its propriety fairly established in the public mind. They pledge themselves to shew, in a few days, that they are not only right in what they have done; but, that the Hon. Thomas Clark, is grossly mistaken.

(Signed for the Committee.)

ROBERT HAMILTON.

Niagara, April 18, 1818.

Till there is time for further proof, the following will testify the strange inconsistency of Mr. Clark.



To the Clerk of the Township Meeting, 13th April, 1818, at Niagara.

Queenston, 13th April, 1818.

SIR,

You will herewith receive two dollars, one of which is the subscription of the Hon. Thos. Clark, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of carrying a Petition to the Prince Regent, relative to the situation of this Province, the other dollar for the same purpose, from

your most obedient humble servt.

W. G. HEPBURN.

(Signed)

WE certify, that we saw Mr. Clark, give the dollar above mentioned, to Mr. Hepburne, for the purpose also above specified.

(Signed) { THOS. DICKSON,
JAMES KERBY.

TO THE WORTHY INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF NIAGARA.
Niagara, April 21st, 1818.

GENTLEMEN,

THE above placards have already spoken for themselves. It is now my duty not only to defend my character as an individual, but to maintain the grand constitutional right of all British subjects—the right of holding meetings for petitioning the Prince or Parliament. This Right, a Legislative Councillor has dared to question and traduce ; but, woe to every attempt, which would lessen the liberties of the people, and vitiate the oracles of truth.

Gentlemen, but for the unnatural, the insidious, the infamous placard which is now placed before you, yesterday would have been a day of concord and confidence :—yesterday, the sun of regeneration would have risen to Upper Canada without a cloud ; but, it will yet rise, and shine more bright, triumphant over the murky clouds of the morning.

The history of Mr. Clark's unhappy proceedings, and the defence of my own conduct and principles, shall follow after I have first established the weightier matter of the law—our undeniable, and, till now, unquestioned, right of petitioning, and of holding public meetings for doing so. The right of petitioning is one of the grand articles of the Bill of Rights solemnly passed into law, when the British people had driven one sovereign from the throne and were about to establish in it another more agreeable to their will. No act of Parliament is half so sacred as this—the second great charter of British liberty. It emanated purely from the people, uninfluenced by sovereign power, or unswayed by domineering aristocracy, and the æra which gave it birth stands emblazoned in history as our glorious Revolution. The Parliament of Britain has never questioned this great right of the people, and the people are in the constant habit of exercising their right. The meetings of last year in England, at some of which 20,000 people were collected together, were all held under this grand constitutional privilege, and not a question was made regarding their legality. The Parliament of Britain never attempted to suppress even the Spa-fields meetings, which excited in the minds of some, the greatest alarm, and, I, myself, was in the House of Commons when Lord Folkstone presented a petition from one of these meetings, on the evening of the very day on which it was held.

What is all this which Mr. Clark has set before the people of Upper Canada, as a bugbear to frighten them out of the exercise of their most sacred right? What is this quotation from the Statute book? what are these stories to us, which concern the Irish rebellion and the conviction of Traitors? Is it possible that Mr. Clark could seriously believe that he could for any length of time impose, even upon the ignorant, or appal the timid, with recitals of this nature? Can any man read the act of Parliament which he has quoted, and not perceive, that it has no eye whatever to peaceable meetings. The act clearly specifies the sort of meetings which it was framed to repress—meetings “tending merely to sedition; and to “delude the people into an imaginary assertion of rights.” In the name of God, I ask, where is the symptom of sedition to be discovered in this Province? Unless from the mouth of the Hon. Thomas Clark, I never heard a breath in Upper Canada which could, by the remotest construction, be applied to any thing of the kind.—The pure and ardent loyalty of the people here has been one strong influence with me in exerting myself towards improving the connection of Canada with the mother country, and it excited in me peculiar feelings of disgust when I read in the Newspapers that surmises were on foot for bartering away such people, like slaves, to the United States. If I am guilty of sedition, why does not the Hon. Thomas Clark do his duty and bring me to trial? Mr. Clark knew of the Niagara meeting, and of my being present there, yet he suffers me to go at large to advise and attend other meetings,—nay, not only am I going at large and doing all this, but I dare the highest magistrate in the Province to lay hands upon me. There is thus no alternative for Mr. Clark, but either to do his duty, and arrest me, or to leave me alone and thereby satisfy the world that he has been wofully imposing on the public by assailing my conduct and principles—wofully and wantonly scandalizing the rights of the Canadian people. Doubting that the ignorant and timid might not be sufficiently astounded with a quotation of law, Mr. Clark seems to expect that my “heedless proselytes” will be certainly driven from their meetings and appalled, for ever, by a reference to an Irish act of Parliament, and a hint, as to what befel the ignorant in Scotland.—In the year 1793, every body knows, that rebellion was nearly bursting out both in Great Britain and Ireland; and every body knows that soon after this, it did break out in the latter. I myself visited Ireland in the midst of its fiercest rebellion, when I was allowed to land

and pass along, only from being known to the commander of the Kings troops. I had, thus, better opportunities than Mr. Clark, of being acquainted with the state of that country, and the necessity for strong measures on the part of government ; and I was still better informed, than he could possibly be, of the situation of things in Scotland. I attended the trial in Edinburgh of one of the chief offenders, and remember well, on what grounds he and others were transported. They were charged with holding secret meetings, with administering oaths of secrecy, and having warlike arms in preparation for carrying their designs violently into execution : who would not wish to see men convicted of such practices, “ sentenced to transportation ?” Have I done any thing of this sort ? Have I held secret meetings ? Have I sworn any one to secrecy, or, been an advocate for oaths ? Have I or my proselytes any thing to do with warlike arms ? Mercy on us, for, by and by, the Honorable Thomas Clark will accuse us of sedition for eating our food, and, of treason, for meeting together, in church, to put up our prayers to the Almighty !

After the public, to whom Mr. Clark’s placard is dedicated, have been so grossly insulted by him, I am persuaded it would be but further insult, should I say another word on this part of the subject. I only wish that I could here stop and let Mr. Clark rest in quiet among “ visionary enthusiasts ; ” but my duty, both to myself and the public, calls loudly for further explanation.

From the first paragraph of the placard, it would seem as if I was dependent on Mr. Clark, and, that without the approbation and countenance of this very self important personage, I had a right to do nothing in this world. I flatly deny that I am in any way dependent upon him, or, that at any stage of my Statistical enquiries, I have been ruled by his advice or authority. My first address, printed at York, was never, till its publication, shewn to Mr. Clark, and with respect to my “ recent improper and unwarrantable publications,” who could ever suppose me under *his* patronage who now does his “ *duty*, to the Government, the Province, and himself,” by protesting against them ? The insinuations of the placard, groundless as they may be, are yet nothing to what Mr. Clark has uttered in public regarding me. Yesterday, he attended the meeting of his own Township, and there I am sorry to say, disgraced himself, in a manner beyond all precedent. Mr. Clark stood forward at Stam-

fard meeting, and declared that I was a person wholly without means of subsistence—that the dollar he gave Mr. Hepburne was meant for my private aid as a poor man—that he had lent me money in England which I had squandered—that I had not a foot of land belonging to me in Upper Canada, and that my sole object in what I was now about, was to get possession of the money subscribed by petitioners. If a dozen honest men had sworn that Mr. Clark was capable of such declarations, I would not have believed them, before the absolute fact was proved; and, I trust that under circumstances, the public will excuse my stating the truth as to my private affairs, which, upon any ordinary occasion, would be quite impertinent.

I became acquainted with Mr. Clark for the first time, when he was at home during the war. He then came to Wiltshire and spent a few weeks at my house. I am the oldest son of my father, who, at that time, was in possession of a landed estate in Scotland worth, with its stock, upwards of 130,000*l.* Having for some years been involved in a law suit, on a question which unluckily my father had misconceived, he had withdrawn from me his countenance, and I was left to the support of other friends in prosecuting my suit. My situation being known to Mr. Clark he volunteered to me a loan of 500*l.* Little more than a year after this, my father's affairs became involved. Till the age of seventy-five he had carried on the most extensive agricultural operations of any man in the kingdom; and for integrity as well as perfect knowledge of business ranked in the very highest class. When the exposure of affairs took place, not only my father and family were confounded with the result, but the whole country was so. It could be accounted for in no way but from the natural decay of age. My father had lost his memory, and, for several years, had been the prey of all who had the wickedness to impose upon him. Within a month after this, seeing that I could no longer expect to return to my native country, and keep up the rank which I had, from my infancy enjoyed, I resolved on going abroad, and had my intention communicated to Mr. Clark. The fall of my fortune increased the rancour of the person with whom I was at law. He would consent to no terms of settlement, and I had to remain more than a year fighting out the battle. My Lawyers failed to carry my cause before the assizes. I instantly published an address,—had this address put into the hands of most eminent

counsel in London, with a suitable fee, and thus obtained a confession that I was right. I then sued in Chancery for a new trial, and carried my point though opposed by five Lawyers, who wasted several days in pleading. My cause was a second time brought before a Jury, and then I was finally victorious, recovering what I pled for, with interest, and the costs of three suits. The moment all this was settled, I made arrangements for the conduct of my farming concerns, and came here to look out for future operations; and, here, I will come with my family as soon as all is settled at home, which my friends are now giving their aid to accomplish. Last September, I satisfied Mr. Clark that a fair settlement of my farming concerns would leave me a reversion in capital of several thousand pounds after paying my debts. My delayed departure from this country however, has greatly altered my hopes of this; but, independent of my own personal capital, there is a provision for my wife and children, of 280*l.* pr. annum, which my fate or conduct cannot affect. So far from being reduced to have my wants here supplied by Mr. Clark's charity, he knows well, that I have yet credit at home as far as travelling expences require, and that my bill to him, for 50*l* received last autumn, was duly honored. About two months ago I wished to draw for a larger sum; not the slightest objection was made to my credit, by Mr. Street, the partner of Mr. Clark; but, as he was not full of cash, he asked me to accept of a temporary supply, and it was agreed to defer drawing on London, until I should require an additional sum. In the Township of Dereham I own 866 acres of land which belonged to my wife before her marriage with me; but which she has since made over to me; and, however trifling this may be as to value, it was a very proper ground upon which to claim attention in the Petition which I sent to York to be presented by Mr. Clark to the Parliament then assembled; for upon coming to the Province I found it greatly depreciated, or rather unsaleable.

That I wish to pocket the dollars subscribed by the people of Canada for the management of their public interests, is a worthy finish to Mr. Clark's declarations. I advised the people to pay this into the hands of Clerks and Treasurers chosen by themselves and I expressly stated that I would accept of no appointment. That I might receive benefits from the success of the cause is somewhat encouraging: it may recompence me for the time and money I have

spent, and such benefit the public of Canada have certainly no right to grudge ; but, it is as certain, that private emolument, neither first nor last, has been my spur in what I have done. I never was covetous of wealth ; but I have enjoyed the pleasure of thinking my efforts tended to the happiness of my fellow creatures ; and, the hope that I may accomplish my purpose of making this Province a safe and honorable retreat for the poor of England, would sustain me through a life time of persecution and scandal. From the consideration of what is already said, the public will form some comparison between Mr. Clark and me as to "unwarrantable publications," but let us get on to complete exposure, before the final decision is given.

It will be remembered that some weeks ago I mentioned, that since I had addressed Mr. Clark as a public character at York, he had taken all in good part and written me several friendly letters. It was so, and meeting together, for the first time, after his return from York, at Mr. Thomas Dickson's on the 11th of this month, we shook hands before several witnesses. The day preceding I had heard something of Mr. Clark's doing at York, which I thought too serious to pass without notice, and I had then in my pocket a letter calling upon him for explanation. Our accidental meeting, and shaking hands, altered my intentions, as to this, and I committed the letter to the flames, that there should be no retrospect after the right hand of fellowship had been stretched out. On Saturday last about two o'clock, I had occasion to call at the Printing-Office and found that Mr. Clark had just sent in the manuscript of his placard. Upon looking to it I was cut to the heart. I immediately went to Mr. Wm. Kerr, his brother-in-law,—told him what I had seen, and begged of him, to go with me to the Hon. Wm. Dickson's, where I thought Mr. Clark would be found. Thither we went, but Mr. Clark and Mr. Dickson had gone to a meeting at Alexr. Roger's Hotel, and, there, we found them on our return. I most earnestly entreated Mr. Clark, on his own account, to withdraw his publication, but in vain : both he and Mr. Dickson were alike immovable, and I found that the placard which bears only the signature of one, was, in fact, the joint production of these two Honorable Gentlemen. Mr. Dickson had pruned Mr. Clark's asperities, and had searched out, from his law repository, the notable quotation which now stands be-

fore us as a bugbear. To conclude, I told the Gentlemen that if they persisted in printing the placard, I should certainly, in return, think myself bound by no delicacy of exposure. Mr. Dickson declared in that case he would never speak with me more—so the matter is now at issue, and to determine it, I proceed without scruple or dread.

The propriety and fitness of every human action must depend on circumstances. What, in one case, would be very wrong, may, in another, be necessary and proper. My publications, for the last two months, have roused the passions of many unreflecting people against me, and many have formed judgments concerning them altogether erroneous, owing to the partial views taken of the subject. I am not conscious of a word of mine being out of joint. My first address was studiously laboured to please, yet we have seen the cohort of Augusta, with a judge, a priest, and a scribe, as leaders, come forward in a formal charge against it: not spurred on by hasty passion, but, after the mature cogitation of nearly four months. My second address was of a very different nature. I did not expect that it was to gain, at first, universal favour, tho' it had at least one hearty admirer. After carrying the first of it to the press, I called on the Honorable Wm. Dickson, and read the manuscript, as far as it was then composed. Mr. D. was so pleased with it, that he immediately took me aside, and desired my acceptance of a deed for 500 acres of land; which I thanked him for sincerely, but refused.

My after publications, week after week, sprung out of accidents of the moment, and each was called for in its appropriate character and dress. The letter to the Administrator, never would have had existence, but for an accident of my not getting off the week before its appearance, along with the mail carrier, to York, and the publications of Major Leonard, which came forth in the same paper, called for my remaining here still another week. Before this was printed, Mr. Clark's refusal to present my petition, came to hand, and, in a few days more, his advice, that I should retreat from my post, by way of Sacket's Harbor. In my letter to the Hon. Thomas Clark, there is a strange mixture of the serious and jocular. The last was clearly to retain him to me as a friend in private life, while I lashed him for the neglect of public duties, and his falling away from a trust, which he had most strongly induced me to repose in him. A

refusal to present any petition, decently worded, would be provoking; but, had I time to set forth the disappointment I experienced on this occasion, the public would rather wonder how I could joke with Mr. Clark, than blame me for the exposure of trifles, or the use of any language of severity. My whole mind had been bent for 7 months, on the consideration of the vast advantages which might be gained by a proper improvement of Upper Canada. The object of my first address had been accomplished so far, beyond my utmost expectation, but my experience, in the Province, had convinced me, that I could not honestly use the Township Reports, to draw people abroad, to a country where government was so scandalously administered. No one spoke more openly against abuses, than Mr. Clark; indeed, he asked me, one day before going to York, "if it would not justify rebellion?" and Mr. Dickson had, about the same time, declared, at the mess, here, that if matters were not ordered better *he would rather live under the American than British Government.* Though it was not very decorous, for a Legislative Councillor to utter such a speech, before British officers, or any where else, I shall, before all the world, back this sentiment:—certainly, if things are not to be altered for the better, in Canada, the United States would be the more desirable place of residence. Although I am of this opinion, yet, I would not, for a moment, allow, that Mr. Clark's question, under any circumstances, could be answered in the affirmative, while the right of petitioning remains free to our exercise. Nay, I say more, such a question, even without an answer, stands up against Mr. Clark's appeal to "the tenor of his life;" and manifests that "factious discontent" has "originated in his breast."

If Mr. Clark could put such a question to me, which I solemnly affirm before the Omnipresent God, that he did,—if he could put such a question, without even an attempt at reform, through the peaceable exercise of our right of petitioning, what language was "unwarrantable" for me to use, towards him, who denied me the benefit of my constitutional right of petitioning, and who would not present a petition to the legislature of this Province, while it was his bounden duty to do so—a petition which was to lay the ground work of removing the evils, of which, he and Mr. Dickson, so loudly complained,—evils, which I looked upon as completely barring every good which was in contemplation; from the success of my sta-

tistical labours ? What are their notions of right and wrong. I am altogether at a loss to discover. If one man only had appeared in all this scene of confusion,—if one man had been the author of the placard, stuck up before us, we might have settled our minds to rest with a verdict of insanity but, a conspiracy of mad men never, to my knowledge, was before heard of. Silly actions, and shallow reasoning may be expected from the rabble ; but, to see such conduct, and such a production existing in, and emanating from, the united counsel of Councillors, is confounding and marvellous in the extreme.

One part of Mr. Clark's placard has stirred up doubt, I find, in more than himself and fellow placard maker, I mean, his quotation of my words, "a radical change of system in the government of Upper Canada." There are some people so nervous—so very sensitive, that reason has nothing to do with their actions and impulses. A worthy Professor of St. Andrew's College, sat one morning in his elbow chair, while his wife reached the tea-kettle to the fire. A drop fell on the professor's leg. He saw the fire and black bottom of the kettle at one glance. The association of scalding was instantly formed and the impulse was irresistible : he leaped to the floor in agony and stormed at his wife for the pain he suffered. When he had sufficiently vented his groans and his spleen, "sit down" said his patient partner in this world's misery, "sit down and bless yourself, my dear, for the water was but this moment drawn from the well."

The word, government, may be variously applied :—to the frame of government—the constitution, or, to the mode of carrying on the government—the management—the administration. In Britain we never think of petitioning for a change of government in the first sense—a change of constitution. We are all pleased with the constitution ; but we roar loudly, and petition often, against the government, taken in the latter sense—the management—the administration. To petition for a change of government in Upper Canada is quite different :—here we may safely petition for a change of government, in every sense of the word. The government or constitution of Upper Canada rests merely on the authority of a British act of Parliament ; and all that is constituted thereby is subject to repeal, by the same power which enacted it, as the words of our constitu-

tional statute expressly indicate. The constitution of Upper Canada is to continue only "during the continuance of this act," and should we petition for a change of government here, we do nothing more than is done every day at home, for a repeal or amendment of an act of the British Parliament; and, though I had not at first contemplated the necessity, I now think it might be very proper to petition for a fresh act, which would free us from such pests as legislative councillors, and perhaps some other councillors to boot: perhaps too, we might petition for a Throne instead of a Chair.

If either the one Hon. Gentleman, or the other, had been as well inclined to examine strictly my words, as they are zealous to blacken my character, and prove me to be a fool and a rogue, they might have discovered, that these words did not go to the extent, that they, in the spirit of illiberality, have imagined. I speak of "a change of system in the government." What is in the government, cannot be the government: the wine in a bottle, is not the bottle. Through all my writings, it will be found that I spoke of the system, and sometimes I identified this system, with that which ruled by "patronage and favouritism." The system of patronage and favouritism in the government of Upper Canada, I have long considered to be the great bane of prosperity, and, without this is put down, all legislators sent to little York, will come back better for themselves, but, bringing with them, nothing better for the country. Every one wonders at the influence of Dr. Strachan: a man of no ability—of no experience in the world; but they do not consider the nature of the tools which have been put into his hands.—It requires no ear to play a hand-organ, and little strength to drive a horse in a mill: yet the one may give spirit to a dance, and the other may convert wheat into flour. I question if Dr. Strachan has not run some little errand, or done some little favour for every Honorable and not Honorable that ever went up to little York to legislate. Such "small sweet courtesies" cost the Doctor nothing, and are altogether fascinating to Councillors and members of Assembly. On the other hand mark the Doctors are!!! Look at me and tremble, every man who would have a slice of land.—look at me and tremble, every man who would desire to get smoothly on in Upper Canada.

Perhaps, the two Councillors who have posted me as a promoter of sedition, are not quite immediate, even though "factitious discon-

tent never originated in their breasts"—perhaps, they would rather see the Province go to ruin than lose the game of patronage and favouritism—perhaps, "their deeds being evil," they would "love darkness rather than light." It is true that Governor Gore is gone, who made them Honorable, and got for Mr. Clark the monopoly of mill seats, on the rapids of Niagara; but other Governors are coming out, and Sir John Sherbrooke is even in the Lower Province, now. Since Mr. Dickson has no regard for my character and feelings, let us try how he will stand the touch-stone of truth. It came to my knowledge, by perfect accident, that a member of Assembly was hunting after land, while the public business for which he was paid to go to York, was shamefully neglected. Under existing circumstances, it was a duty to expose what was going on, and to give a hint to the people of the real cause of their Parliament effecting no good purpose. Mr. Dickson, has since told me, that he, also, was busy petitioning for land, while he was at York. Mr. Dickson having, some years ago, been employed as a Lawyer, by the Indian Department, or otherwise for the Indians on the Grand River, had a tract of land given him, consisting, I believe, of 6000 acres, by a Council of Indians, called together under the influence of Colonel Claus. Against this transaction, some other Indians protested, and Mr. Dickson's title has hung *in dubio*. While at York, Mr. Dickson had a petition drawn up to the Prince Regent, to confirm his title to this land, and to give weight to the petition. Sir John Sherbrooke, was to favor Mr. Dickson, with his support. Now, I ask the people of this Province, to pause, and reflect on this transaction. The Indian land is their own, by as sacred a title as any in Canada. If Mr. Dickson's claim to the land was fair, why ask the Prince Regent for what is not his? why draw in His Excellency the Commander in Chief, to go to the fountain of honour for a favour, which cannot in honour be bestowed?—Here I leave this subject to-day, for I wish the people to pause.

Canadians! rouse yourselves! collectively and individually come into action,—save the Province from ruin—yourselves from insult and disgrace. Let a party, in every Township, call at every house, and ask aid to the cause of truth; and, let the Scripture text be repeated to every man "he that is not for us is against us."

Rouse yourselves, Canadians, for villany is in arms against your peace and prosperity :—rouse yourselves, for all that was fought for in war—all that was hoped for in peace, is at stake :—rouse yourselves, Canadians, for constitutional right is assailed. One bold and generous effort will yet retrieve your honor,—will retain to you the renown of being honest men and loyal subjects ; for loyalty must not suffer the constitution to be invaded and trod down. Let the royal motto be our peculiar watch word :—let Canada from henceforth, bear these words on her shield—“ GOD AND OUR RIGHT.”

ROBERT GOURLAY.





